The Representation and Mediation of National Identity in the Production of Post-apartheid, South African Cinema

by

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Abstract

In 1994, South Africa was emancipated from apartheid, and in 1996, a new democratic Constitution was released. This charter envisioned a progressive society and placed emphasis on equality, multiculturalism, reconciliation and freedom. The state targeted the cultural industries, including cinema, to carry this new vision to the nation. The problem, however, was that the production, exhibition and distribution infrastructure inherited from apartheid was not only dominated by Hollywood, but also exclusively catered for the white sector of the nation. This monopolised, racially skewed structure continues to pose an obstacle to the dissemination of progressive identities and the sustainability of local cinema. Through an analysis of relevant film policy, industry structure and specific cinematic texts, this study aims to trace the intersection between the dynamics of national identity representation and South Africa's political and economic position as a developing nation in the global marketplace. The research presented took place over a period of three years (2007-2010) and incorporated both quantitative and qualitative methods.

This project has multiple conclusions:

1) Firstly, the results indicate that the neoliberal paradigm evident in the national politico-economic agenda has a continued impact on the development of the film industry where funding is scarce, direct intervention is largely avoided and an export orientated approach dominates state-supported production models.

2) Secondly, those who make successful films in this highly competitive environment tend to do so with local, white or international audiences in mind.

3) Thirdly, the target market of such films tends to curtail the creative self-expression of the artist, with there being specific expectations when it comes to budget, cast, characterisation, narrative content and structure, language and aesthetics.

4) Fourthly, this research indicates that an alternative production model has developed: one that can potentially grant filmmakers greater freedom in cinematic production and dissemination. It functions with less capital, less outside assistance and has a greater focus on the local market. It remains to be seen, however, whether the demographics of the

audience and the filmmakers themselves, can expand to include a greater percentage of the black majority, who have been historically excluded from South African cinematic production and consumption.

5) Finally, the results suggest that the national identities represented to audiences on screen are influenced not only by a filmmaker's personal biases and interpretations, but also by wider socio-economic forces, filmmaking conventions and the production conditions specific to the film at hand.

Declaration

I declare that this thesis is my own unaided work. It is submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy at the University of Cape Town. It has not been submitted before for any other degree or examination at any other university.

Signed by candidate

Signature removed

Astrid Treffry-Goatley

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List of Abbreviations

Abbreviation	Name
AC	Amnesty Committee
ACTAG	Art And Culture Task Group
AIDS	Acquired Immunodeficiency Syndrome
ANC	African National Congress
ART	Antiretroviral Therapy
ASGI	Accelerated Shared Growth Initiative
BBBEE	Broad Based Black Economic Empowerment
BEE	Black Economic Empowerment
CEO	Chief Executive Officer
CFC	Cape Film Commission
CIC	Cinema International Corporation
COSATU	Congress Of South African Trade Unions
DAC	Department Of Culture
DCI	Digital Cinema Initiative
DI	Digital Intermediate
DIFF	Durban International Film Festival
DOP	Director of Photography
DSTV	Digital Satellite Television
DTI	Department Of Trade And Industry
DVD	Digital Versatile Disk
FESPACO	Festival Panafricain du Cinéma et de la Télévision de Ouagadougou
FRU	Film Resource Unit
GEAR	Growth, Employment And Redistribution
GFC	Gauteng Film Commission
GNU	The Government Of National Unity
HAART	Highly Active Antiretroviral Treatment
HD	High Definition
HESA	Higher Education South Africa
HIV	Human Immunodeficiency Virus

HRV	Human Rights Violation Committee
HSRC	Human Sciences Research Council
ICASA	Independent Communications Authority
ICTS	Information and Communication Technologies
IDC	Industrial Development Corporation
IMF	International Monetary Fund
ISA	Ideological State Apparatus
MAPP-SETA	Media, Advertising, Printing, Publishing and Packaging Sector Education and Training Authority
MK	Mkhonto we Sizwe
NFVF	National Film and Video Foundation
NGO	Non-Government Organisation
QSAPE	Qualifying South African Production Expenditure
RDP	Reconstruction and Development Programme
SABC	South African Broadcasting Corporation
SACP	South African Communist Party
SANAC	South African National AIDS Council
SANNC	South African Native National Congress
SAQA	South African Qualifications Authority
SARS	South African Revenue Services
SASFED	The South African Screen Federation
STATSSA	Statistics South Africa
TAC	Treatment Action Campaign
TRC	Truth and Reconciliation Commission
UIP	United International Pictures
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Report
WTO	World Trade Organisation

Chapter One: Background, Rationale and Objectives

1.1 Background

1.1.1. From Apartheid to Democracy

Between 1948-1994, the Nationalist Party instituted a system of segregated racism in South Africa known as apartheid.[1] This complex legal structure was designed to advance white interests at the expense of the black majority, who were subject to violent oppression and exploitation.[2] During this period, the country's cinema was known to the world as the 'Cinema of Apartheid' (Ukadike 1998: 573). This cinema of propaganda, censorship and oppression catered almost exclusively for the white population with very few black filmmakers being empowered to participate in cinematic production or consumption. An example of apartheid's impact on cinema is the Group Areas Act of 1950, which prohibited black people from entering the economically privileged 'white areas' without prearranged, official consent.[3,] However, cinematic infrastructure in the 'black areas' was extremely scarce and thus the majority of the population was effectively alienated from cinema. Cinema under apartheid was also subject to severe industry monopolisation. For example, national distribution and exhibition networks were controlled by a handful of companies that had longstanding, often exclusive agreements with the major Hollywood studio (Please refer to a detailed analysis of this historical period in Chapter Three). These circumstances have resulted in a very small national cinema-going audience (approximately 11 percent of the population) that is accustomed to Hollywood-style entertainment. This audience remains one of the greatest problems challenging the sustainability and equality of the post-apartheid film industry.

[1] Apartheid means 'apartness' in the Afrikaans language.
[2] Those oppressed under apartheid included peoples of black, Asian and mixed racial descent.
[3] The Group Areas Act (No. 41) of the Apartheid government assigned different racial groups to particular residential and business locations in urban areas. The more developed metropolitan areas were reserved for whites, while the rest of the population were forced to live outside major cities in township areas. This act led to communities being forcibly relocated. For example, refer to the forced removals of District Six in Cape Town (1968-1982), Sophiatown in Johannesburg (1955-1963) and Cato Manor in Durban (1959-1964).

In 1994, South Africa made international history when the backward, racially segregated apartheid state was finally overthrown and the country became a democracy. Under the leadership of former-activist Nelson Mandela, the African National Congress (ANC) stepped into this celebratory atmosphere and took on the task of making the South African 'miracle' of peaceful transformation a continuous reality. However, more than 400 years of colonial rule and 46 years of apartheid had resulted in a severely divided society with little sense of national identity or togetherness. In 1996, a new Constitution was released. This charter envisioned a progressive society, emphasising: equality, multiculturalism, reconciliation and freedom. However, the transformation that it envisaged was not possible without the application of a people's imagination (Saks 2003: 132). Thus, expressive forms have been arrested to assist in the 'refashioning of personal and collective identities and in the rediscovery of a common humanity' (Barber 2001: 177).

1.1.2. State Policy Post-apartheid

Since 1994, there have been numerous national strategies introduced to foster the growth of the industry. These have been framed within the prevailing political and economic ideology of the state. For example, in 2004, the national government prioritised the growth of creative industries under the Accelerated and Shared Growth Initiative (Department of Trade and Industry 2005: 4). This emphasis on growth can be linked to the neoliberalism of the 'Growth, Employment And Redistribution' (GEAR) development policy that was introduced by the ANC in 1996. GEAR was preceded by the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP), a macroeconomic policy that favoured a pluralistic and participatory form of governance and supported reconstruction and redistribution *before* economic growth (Mhone 2004: 21). The shift from RDP to GEAR is indicative of the ANC's 'astonishing about-turn in the formation of its economic policy, from a left-wing socialist position that envisaged large-scale nationalization to a position where it has now embraced free-market orthodoxy that involves large-scale privatization' (Sparks 2003: 170). This change can be seen as evidence of the conflicting interests within the ANC, which, since inception, has incorporated a variety of members with somewhat incompatible

positions sentiments (Tomaselli and Teer Tomaselli 2008: 176).[4] This diverse make-up has led to the organisation always having to 'negotiate across positions that range from strongly communist through to popularist workerist ideologies to neoliberal inclinations of globalising and modernizing the South African economy' (Ibid.).

ANC neoliberal policy is also symptomatic of South Africa's status as a developing country in the globalised world. Sparks explains that after his release, Mandela shifted from a firm belief in the nationalization of resources for the people (as the Afrikaners had done under apartheid for 'their people') to a policy of privatisation, which was more in line with global development standards (2003: 171-176). He also notes that the ANC leadership had been most preoccupied with preparations for the first democratic elections and with the task of 'warding off a violent counter-revolution by white extremists and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's Inkatha Freedom Party,' and thus, they did not have a detailed economic programme to put into effect when they took office (Ibid.). Instead, they had the hastily prepared RDP, which was more of an election manifesto outlining (rather ambitious) development goals than a systematic economic strategy (Sparks 2003: 191-192). A more detailed, robust, economic strategy became a priority, however, when the ANC discovered that South Africa was close to bankruptcy. They had 'inherited not only the horrendous social distortions inflicted by 342 years of racial oppression, but also a legacy of massive fiscal and administrative incompetence as well' (Sparks 2003: 188). Thus, the government 'realised it needed a new growth strategy with a more precise macro-economic framework to guide it' (Sparks 2003: 193). Consequently GEAR was developed under the leadership of Alec Erwin. While the ANC's need for a sturdier, explicit economic framework is indeed understandable; the adoption of this free-market programme is not without its consequences. Not only has it increased internal tension within the ANC, but is also questionable whether neoliberalism is indeed the most appropriate economic framework for local development.

[4] For example, the Tripartite Alliance that brought the ANC into power 'includes the South African Communist Party (SACP), the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) and the ANC itself' (Tomaselli and Teer Tomaselli 2008: 176).

1.1.3. Consequences for the Development of the Post-apartheid Film Industry

Neoliberalism is essentially a formula that has been adopted by the 'main international agencies charged with the task of helping developing countries get on the high road to greater prosperity' (Sparks 2003: 208). These agencies are the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF), which are both headquartered in Washington DC (Ibid.). Neoliberalism is also known as the 'golden straight jacket' because it permits no variations and no concessions to be made to accommodate local circumstances (Ibid.). Thus, this formula is sometimes at odds with the New South Africa's vision of diversity, equality and freedom and has resulted in tensions and contradictions between different aspects of state policy. For example, with regards to film and diversity, 'the processes of concentration, convergence, commercialisation, and deregulation which underlie the globalisation of media economies have potentially negative implications for pluralism of access and diversity of representations' (Barnett 1998: 552). Furthermore, the White Paper on Film of 1996, a key document in industry development, can be seen to combine the somewhat contradictory 'fighting rhetoric one has come to associate with postcolonial academese with phrases that might be found in a reader on economic policy' (Saks 2003: 141). [5]

One of the most important contributions that the White Paper made to the film industry was to recommend the formation of the National Film and Video Foundation (NFVF), a body that is designed to administer state aid for 'various aspects of film production, distribution, exhibition and training, archives, management, research and information, visual literacy programs and the promotion of locally produced film and video both internally and abroad' (Saks 2003: 133).[6] The NFVF is mandated to:

- Promote and develop the film and video industry
- Provide and encourage the provision of opportunities for persons, especially from disadvantaged communities to get involved in the film and video industry

[5] In 1994, the Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC), led by academic Martin Botha, conducted a study into the restructuring of the film industry. In 1995, the Government of National Unity (GNU) established the Art and Culture Task Group (ACTAG) to counsel the Minister of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology on the formation of film policy. In 1995, following the publication of the ACTAG report, a Reference Group was appointed to draft a Film Development Strategy Document which was the basis of the 1996 White Paper on Film.

[6] The NFVF came into being in 1997 through Act 73 of Parliament.

- Encourage the development and distribution of local film and video products
- Support the nurturing and development and access to the film and video industry
- Address historical imbalances in the infrastructure and distribution of skills and resources in the film and video industry (NFVF 2007: 13)

In 2005, the NFVF published a *Value Charter.* This document is based on the White Paper of 1996 and serves as a blueprint for post-apartheid film industry development. Its vision is a 'film and video industry that mirrors and represents the nation, sustains commercial viability, encourages development and provides a medium through which the creative and technical talents of South Africans are able to reach the world' (NFVF 2005a: 3).[7] In this vision, one can identify multiple strains of 'interest'. For example, one could link the words 'mirrors and represents the nation' to the ideals of the mandate outlined above and the redistribution of the Left, while the emphasis on commercial viability and local talents reaching 'the world' could be linked to the export-driven growth of neoliberalism and GEAR. Thus, the diverging forces within the ANC are evident in NFVF's vision, which attempts to marry the rectification of apartheid-derived injustices with a neoliberal, export driven paradigm.

These divisions and contradictions apparent in policy might be seen to threaten the development and transformation of the film industry because a democratic culture of filmmaking and film viewing is unlikely to occur without direct state intervention. Yet, such intervention is incompatible within a neoliberal paradigm. Furthermore, supporting the development and distribution of local films will necessarily involve a certain degree of protection from Hollywood monopolisation, but such protection is not normally condoned by the free-market paradigm. Nevertheless, in the absence of such interventionist measures there is a danger that inequality will remain and rather than being exposed to alternative and local products, audiences will be fed a continuous diet of Hollywood product. This not only has implications for the sustainability of local filmmaking, but also for the cinematic texts themselves, since the domination of US entertainment culture is likely to encourage local filmmakers to define themselves against Hollywood products. In the following chapters, I provide a critical analysis of the South African film industry questioning to what extent the

[7] This vision was updated in the Value Charter of 2009. This updated Charter is discussed in Chapter Four.

state is effectively challenging the monopolised, racially skewed structure of apartheid. Furthermore, through an analysis of relevant policies, industry structures and cinematic texts, I consider the representation of this developing nation in the context of a global marketplace.

1.2 Rationale

As expressions and interpretations of a complex, rapidly developing society, post-apartheid cinematic texts have become significant sites of study that demand fresh scholarly analysis (Barber 2000: 177). Maingard argues that 'since cinema is a medium that has the ability both to shape and reflect our perceptions, how it visualizes identities has crucial significance for our citizenship and nationhood' (2007: 3). While identities were often brutally categorised and divided under apartheid, in the 'New South Africa' such boundaries have become more fluid and a broader range of people have been given access to the means to challenge previous stereotypes and to engage with a fuller spectrum of identities. It is important to question, however, whether such changes are indeed widespread, and if previously marginalised sectors of the population have been sufficiently empowered to facilitate their participation in the production and consumption of post-apartheid South Africa cinema.

In 1996, Tomaselli noted that there were very few scholars of South African cinema (1996: 10). However, in recent years, a number of books and academic articles have been published on the subject.[8] Such publications reflect a growing interest in the country, following its transformation to democracy and a related interest in its cinema due to South Africa's unprecedented recognition on the international cinematic arena. For example, Botha noted in 2006 that 'during the past 18 months South African features, documentaries

[8] Although the articles are too numerous to list here, published books include: Isabel Balseiro and Ntongela Masilela's *To Change Reels: Film and Film Culture in South Africa* (2003), Keyan Tomaselli's *Encountering Modernity: Twentieth Century South African Cinemas* (2006), Martin Botha's *Marginal Lives and Painful Pasts: South African Cinema After Apartheid* (2007), Jaqueline Maingard's *South African National Cinema* (2008), Lindiwe Dovey's *African Film and Literature: Adapting Violence to the Screen* (2009a), Audrey Thomas McCluskey's *The Devil You Dance With: Film Culture in the New South* Africa (2009) and Lucia Saks's very recent *Cinema in a Democratic South Africa: The Race for Representation* (2010). Relevant PhD theses include: Lucia Saks's *The Race for Representation: Reconstructing National Identity in South African Cinema* (2001) and Kristin Pichaske's *Colour Adjustment: Race and Representation in Post-Apartheid South African Documentary* (2009).

and shorts have won over 30 international awards, including the Oscar Nomination for Best Foreign Language film for Darrell Roodt's Yesterday' (Tomaselli 1996: 16). Nevertheless, while many of these texts include analyses of both historical and contemporary cinema, few provide a comprehensive, in-depth view of post-apartheid film. For example, Pichaske (2009) has argued that although Maingard has written extensively on this topic (on documentary film in particular), 'for the most part, her analyses extend only up until 1995 and therefore her work does not delve into the radical transformation that has occurred since then' (Pichaske 2009: 6). In fact, her recent book *South African National Cinema* (2007) devotes almost no attention to the subject (Maingard dedicates a mere twenty-five pages to cinema after 1988) (Ibid.).

Although material is inarguably scarce, there are a few works that focus on the post-apartheid context. These include: Botha (2007), McCluskey (2009), Pichaske (2009) and Saks (2010). Nonetheless, Pichaske's study can be differentiated from this work due to its focus on documentary rather than feature films. Furthermore, the multi-author/vocal structure of Botha and McCluskey's work serves to distinguish these writings from this study. For example, while Botha comprises a collection of some critical analyses and a number of personal and descriptive essays, the main body of McCluskey's book, on the other hand, consists of a selection of transcripts of interviews that took place between the author and various South African filmmakers and cultural leaders [see reviews by Treffry-Goatley and Tomaselli (2010), Hees (2009) and Dovey (2009b)]. Thus, although such works are indeed important contributions to the academic study of post-apartheid cinema, with a number of essay's in Botha's collection playing a pivotal role in the analysis presented [see reference to Evans (2007) and Rijsdijk (2007) in Chapters Seven and Eight respectively], there is indeed a shortage of comprehensive analyses of post-apartheid cinema.

Saks' PhD thesis of 2001 entitled *The Race for Representation: Reconstructing National Identity in South African Cinema* (University of Southern California) is an exception to this norm, being an in-depth study of the post-apartheid film industry. Furthermore, judging from the title of her recent work *Cinema in a Democratic South Africa: The Race for Representation* (2010), this appears to be a continuation of this earlier research.

Unfortunately, this book is not yet available in South Africa, and thus it was not possible to include it in this analysis. Nevertheless, if one considers Saks' PhD research (2001) one finds that the time period covered is slightly different from this study. Firstly, while Saks' thesis is primarily concerned with the transformation from apartheid to democracy and aims to describe a future stage in post-apartheid cinema (2001: 11). This thesis, on the other hand, focuses on the developments of the mid-to-late 2000's, the actual implementation of post-apartheid policy and specific post-2004 films (please refer to Chapter Two for more detail on the time period and the selection of texts). Secondly, Saks traces historical cinematic practices and texts and makes extensive reference to anti-apartheid cinema and nationalist films released at the turn of the twentieth century (Saks 2010: 13).[9] While this work does indeed include an historical overview of the industry (see Chapter Three), this section is quite brief, since the focus of this thesis is very much on contemporary processes of post-apartheid cinematic production.

Despite a number of notable differences to earlier works, this study can be related to past writings on this topic. Firstly, its focus on issues of representation relates to publication by Saks (2001, 2003), Pichaske (2009) and Maingard (1998, 2003 and 2008). Secondly, the word 'post-apartheid' in the title of the thesis is designed to ground this study in a specific socio-political era, and is indicative of my intention to link the analysis presented to the overall workings of the post-apartheid state. This integrated approach to cinematic analysis can be also linked to existing writings on South African cinema.[10] This 'holistic' approach is further evident in my analysis of the production, distribution and consumption circumstances of the industry as a whole and of individual case studies. This emphasis is based on the assumption that a sociological or psychoanalytic understanding of cinematic texts is strengthened by the consideration of the 'technical and economic conditions [of] production, theory formation and development of the representational conventions and the process of and consuming their aesthetic pleasures' (Croft 2006: 67) (please refer to further discussion on this approach in Chapter Two).

This interest in post-apartheid production, distribution and consumption models required much primary research. Thus, over forty qualitative interviews were conducted with

[9] Perhaps, in her recent book, she has included more updated research on the industry and recent case studies.
[10] These include: Tomaselli (1989), Tomaselli (2006), Saks (2001, 2003); Pichaske (2009) and Maingard (1998, 2003 and 2008).

filmmakers and other industry professionals (please refer to Chapter Two for more information on this research and the methodology adopted). Few scholars have carried out such thorough hands-on research into the post-apartheid industry, because, while McCluskey has indeed conducted an extensive number of interviews, the resultant data was presented as seemingly unedited transcripts. This approach contrasts with this thesis, where such data was subject to critical analysis and not only provided the basis of the analysis of the film industry in Chapters Four and Five, but has also fed directly into the analysis of specific texts in Chapters Six, Seven and Eight. This reference to feedback from the industry is indicative of my intention to bridge the gap between academia and praxis, which can be linked to Pichaske's work on post-apartheid documentary (2009).

A final factor that distinguishes this work from earlier texts is the attention that is paid to the development and application of models to finance cinematic production. This can be related to my general interest in the workings of the film industry and is indicative of my intention to explore the 'hyper-discourses [and] dialectics … that govern the business relations between creative people and executives (Tomaselli 2006: 7). My decision to focus on feature films rather than shorts or documentaries, is an expression of this interest, since such productions tend to be more capitally intensive and thus there is often a greater degree of negotiation between creatives and executives. Furthermore, since feature films are often transnational productions, the production of such films provides an interesting site for the study of national representational dynamics in the global arena – a topic of direct relevance to the central research question at hand.

Objectives

1.3.1. Post-apartheid Film Industry Analysis

The first objective of this study is to contribute to the existing body of knowledge on post-apartheid South African cinema. This objective is evident in the production of this thesis, in the oral presentations made at national and international film and media conferences and in the publication of three peer-reviewed academic articles on the topic over the past three

years.[11] These include (1) 'South African Cinema after Apartheid: a Political-Economic Exploration' (Treffry-Goatley, 2009a), (2) 'Representation, Creativity and Commercialism in the Post-apartheid Film Industry' (Treffry-Goatley 2009b) and (3) 'Dancing with Devils: Making Sense of South African Cinema' (Treffry-Goatley and Tomaselli 2010).

1.3.2. Economics, Politics and Culture in Transnational Cinematic Production

The second objective of this thesis is to add to existing understandings of how economics, political ideology and cultural production interact in post-apartheid cinematic production. The questions to be addressed in this regard are:

- What kinds of processes characterise post-apartheid cinematic production, distribution and consumption?
- How do such models interact with state policy and politico-economic ideology?
- Which production finance models are most widely applied in the post-apartheid film industry?
- Are different production finance models aligned with specific target markets?

1.3.3. Dynamics of Representation

The third objective of this study is to analyse the dynamics of national identity representation in post-apartheid cinema and to relate these to the prevailing production, distribution and consumption practices mentioned above. This objective will be explored through an analysis of general industry trends, prevailing funding models and specific cinematic texts. The questions to be asked in this regard are:

[11] The oral presentations include (1) 'South African Cinema: Representation Creativity and Commercialism in the Post-Apartheid Film Industry.' Presentation at the *Encontra Internacional Socine*, Brasilia, Brazil in October 2008, (2) 'Media Policy Dynamics and National Representation: An Analysis of the South African Film Industry'. Presentation at my *AW Mellon Seminar* on the 30th of May 2008, University of Cape Town, (3) 'Representing the Nation in Post-Apartheid Cinema: the Significance of Co-Productions.' Presentation at *PhD Seminar*, University of Cape Town, South Africa, March 2008 and (4) 'The Representing the Nation in Post-Apartheid Cinema: a Critical Analysis.' Presentation at *Africa in Motion Film Festival Symposium*, Edinburgh University, UK in October 2007.

- How do specific production finance models influence cinematic production?
- To what extent does the target market of the product inform the national identities represented on screen?
- How do identities on screen interact with the complex, multi-faceted nature of post-apartheid society?

It is important to note, however, that although I explore representational dynamics in post-apartheid cinema in this study, my intention it not to judge whether such representations - are 'correct' or not. On the contrary, as is discussed in the theoretical framework of Chapter Two, the approach adopted in this thesis is one of non-essentialism. Thus, although the representation of national identity is indeed the subject of this work, rather than attempting to define a prescriptive, corrective formula, it is more of a critical exploration of current film industry dynamics in the context of a post-apartheid, globalised state. This non-essentialist stance is quite novel in the study of post-apartheid cinema and might be seen as a way forward for future analyses of identity representation/mediation in South African and other developing cinemas.

1.3.4. Film Industry Transformation

The final objective of this study is to assess to what extent historical barriers to transformation have been transgressed in post-apartheid cinema:

- Has the state succeeded in its vision to empower the previously disadvantaged communities to participate in cinematic production and consumption?
- To what extent does the black majority inform post-apartheid cinematic production?

1.4. Thesis Structure

This thesis comprises nine chapters including an introduction (Chapter One) and a conclusion. While Chapter Two provides an introduction to the conceptual, theoretical, methodological and analytical frameworks of the thesis, Chapter Three comprises a brief historical overview of the film industry under apartheid. Following this, Chapters Four and Five offer critical analyses of the workings of the post-apartheid feature film industry and

effectively provide the context for the textual analyses that follow. Chapter Six concerns the film *Drum* (2004); a historical piece set in the 1950's that was directed by South African filmmaker, Zola Maseko. Chapter Seven focuses on the British filmmaker, John Boorman's work *In My Country* (2005), which is about the experiences of two journalists reporting on the South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC). Chapter Eight is an analysis of the film *Yesterday* (2004) written and directed by South African filmmaker, Darrell James Roodt. *Yesterday* concerns the impact of HIV/AIDS on the life of a rural woman in the KwaZulu Natal province of South Africa. These case studies are followed by the conclusion in Chapter Nine, where the objectives and contributions of the thesis are summarised, suggestions for future work are offered and the analysis is brought to a close.

Chapter Two: Concepts, Theories, Methodology and Analysis

2.1. Chapter Overview

This chapter introduces the concepts, academic theories, methodology and analytical framework applied in the study. Firstly, I outline the key concepts and relate them to relevant literature. Secondly, I discuss specific academic theories, linking them to the research questions that guided the project. Thirdly I introduce the quantitative and qualitative research methods applied in data collection; motivating in each instance why specific approaches and processes have been adopted and in doing so, reflecting upon the success of such choices. This section also includes a discussion on the qualitative interviews and provides self-reflexive feedback on the interview process as a whole, including the choices of who to interview and the generation of interview questions. In the final part of this third section, I discuss the selection of case studies for analysis. The fourth section of this chapter concerns the analytical framework that has been applied to the study.

2.2. Key Concepts

2.2.1. Introduction

This study is built on the following concepts: (1) nation, (2) national identity, (3) national cinema, (4) globalisation and neoliberalism (5) the film industry, (6) representation, (7) culture and multiculturalism, (8) authenticity and (9) cinema.

2.2.2. Nation

In the preface to her book on French National Cinema, Susan Hayward warns that 'writing about the 'national' of cinema is undoubtedly either a *brave* or a foolish undertaking because of the dangerous pitfalls into which an author can tumble' (2005: 6). Therefore, any discussion about the national in cinema is likely to be a complex one, since one cannot assume this term to be 'unproblematic' (Hayward 2005: 1). Thus, it is important to define

what exactly is meant by the term 'nation' in this study and to substantiate why it is appropriate for the analysis of post-apartheid cinema.

Hayward has argued that the concept of the 'nation' is slippery and difficult to define, since it appears to be teleological in function 'the idea of nation promotes the notion of nationhood … and thus national solidarity, in turn, plays a vital role in maintain social order' (Ibid.). Higson further explains that it has become conventional to approach the national as 'the mapping of an imagined community with a secure and shared identity and sense of belonging, on to a carefully demarcated geo-political space' (2000: 64).[12] Here, the public media is seen as instrumental in a nation's existence, it 'is public debate that gives the nation meaning, and media systems with particular geographical reach that give it shape (Ibid.). Nevertheless, this understanding of the nation as imagined has not remained unchallenged. On the contrary, Higson later criticises his previous application of this concept and notes that the nationalist project in Anderson's terms was approached as a limited concept with 'finite meanings and boundaries' (2000: 66). Moreover, this approach often fails to acknowledge 'the cultural difference and diversity that invariably marks both the inhabitants of a particular nation-state and the members of more geographically-dispersed 'national' communities' (Ibid). Higson suggests, in this regard, that the term might be aligned with a somewhat conservative understanding of nationalism where 'the experience and acceptance diversity if closed off' (Ibid.). This arguably traditional understanding of nation is not compatible with contemporary processes of cinematic production and consumption, since as a part of 'modern communication networks' such processes operate on an 'increasingly transnational basis' where 'cultural commodities are widely exchanged across national borders' (Ibid.). Therefore, in this thesis, 'nation' is approached as a dynamic, transnational space where meaning is created and exchanged between a constantly evolving and culturally diverse society.

Furthermore, I am conscious of the difference between the 'nationalism' expressed by states (statism) and the nationalism expressed by nations [culturally-derived communities]' (Griggs 1992: 7-8). Griggs argued that the interlinking of these two, distinct terms in the nation-state has resulted in 'one culture, one set of ideals and one set of laws have [being]

[12] See Benedict Anderson. (1983), *Imagined Communities* and Eric Hobsbawm. (1990), *Nations and Nationalism since 1780.*

imposed over diverse nations by a civilian and military bureaucracy' (Ibid.). However, 'modern states are not nation-states since they do not represent a single culture' and thus it 'represents an ideal but 'not the reality of evolved people-territory relationships' (Griggs 1992: 5). It is important to question why such nationalist (nation = state) discourses have arisen in contemporary states. One answer is that the nation-state discourse provides citizens of the increasingly hybrid, global world with a sense of belonging and continuity (Hayward 2005: 3). In this regard, the mass media plays a central role in sustaining the idea of nationhood by 'reimagining the dispersed and incoherent people as a tight-knit, value-sharing collectivity' (Higson 2000: 64).

Consequently, although the concept of nation is complex and almost impossible to define, it *is* useful in the analysis of contemporary society when viewed as a politically driven sociological tool. In fact, this concept is rather difficult to exclude in discussions concerning South African society since it has played a major role in the creation and maintenance of both the apartheid and the post-apartheid state. For example, Moodley and Adam explain that under apartheid the state applied 'demographic engineering' to 'ethnicize, denationalize and fragment the black majority but to racialize and thereby unify the white monitory of different ethnic backgrounds' (2000: 51). However, post-apartheid, 'legislated identities' collapsed and a vision of 'an overarching South African 'rainbow nation'' emerged (Ibid.). In this new political era, race and ethnicity have supposedly fallen away and heterogeneous communities have been encouraged to live peacefully together under the slogan: 'one nation, many cultures' (Ibid.). Nevertheless, there is tension, between the country's desire to stand as a 'united political community that transcends racial and ethical awareness' and its position as a ''multi-racial' nation state that acknowledges and embraces the ethnic and racial diversity, but runs the risk' that the diversity might threaten the unity of the nation-state' (Moodley and Adam 2000: 53). In the analysis that follows, I explore how such dynamics and tensions are manifest in cinematic production in a post-apartheid, transnational context.

2.2.3. National Identity

National identity can quite be defined as a 'consciousness of belonging together in a nation' (Griggs 1992: 6). Echoing Hayward's arguments cited above about nation and continuity, Griggs states that the 'culturally-evolved nation provides the individual with the sense of continuity and belonging which builds an individual's identity' (Ibid.). However, this is not to say that national identity is fixed. On the contrary, as culture evolves, the 'individual identifies with the changes as belonging to his or her people, and in this way a psychological stability is maintained even in the face of rapid change' (Ibid.). Thus, in this study the concept of nation and national identity are understood to be 'multifarious and changing, rather than homogeneous and static' being 'defined and circulated rather than simply reflected on film' (Thackway 2003: 3). Therefore, cinema, as a form of collective action, is seen to have a significant role in the establishment, maintenance and transformation of identities: 'Film has become a means of constituting and interrogating the diverse and multiple identities by which people define themselves and their realities' (Ibid.). Thus, in this study on post-apartheid cinema, cinema is viewed as a dynamic, exciting site of national identity representation and mediation.

2.2.4. National Cinema

Like the term 'nation', 'national cinema' is a complex and somewhat problematic term. This is mostly due to the fact that the concept of nationality varies according to different geographies, histories and cultures. In fact, Higson goes as far as to question whether it is even useful. He argues that while it does play a helpful role in the complex debates about cinema where it can function as a taxonomic naming device, however, 'the process of labeling is always to some degree tautologous, fetishing the national rather than merely describing it' (2000: 64). This can result in one focusing on the differences between national cinemas rather than on their similarities, which can in turn obscure the 'degree of cultural diversity, exchange and interpenetration that marks so much cinematic activity' (Ibid.) However, although this is indeed a difficult term, Higson himself later states that it 'would be impossible – and certainly unwise to ignore the concept altogether: it is far too deeply ingrained in critical and historical debate about cinema' (2000: 73).

The concept of a 'National Cinema' is further compounded in the South African context where industry fragmentation, a small production output and European and American monopolisation have resulted in the theorist Maingard claiming that there 'is no national cinema' to speak of (2003: 115). It must be noted however, that just four years later, this claim was reversed, when Maingard authored a book entitled 'South African National Cinema.' In this book, she explains that although she argued in 2003 that there was 'no national cinema in South Africa', there words were written in 1997 'when it was not possible yet to assert otherwise, since the legacies of apartheid were still scarring the face of cinema' (Maingard 2007: 2). Maingard justifies this changed approach by explaining that due to rapid transformations in democratic South Africa, 'cinema's place in the political landscape has been transformed' (Ibid.). Furthermore, it is noted that cinema has been 'brought into the national frame by virtue of official discourse in government or government appointed bodies, by accompanying processes and policies and by legislation and government funding schemes (Maingard 2007: 3)

Nevertheless, despite certain confusion and controversy, Maingard's argument is significant since it links the concept of a national cinema to state economic and political involvement. This is echoed by Valentina and Willemen who note that the 'particular ways in which an economic sector's productive activities and a particular set of institutional networks known collectively as the state interact to mutual benefit gives us the terms in which a film industry becomes a national one' (2006: 1-2). Therefore, in this study of the South African cinema industry, emphasis is placed on the connection between cinematic processes and the national socio-political landscape, because, as Maingard notes: 'cinema in any national frame cannot be viewed beyond its historical and political contexts and especially not in South Africa' (2007: 2). Furthermore, as Willemen argues:

> To ignore the effective ways in which a particular film industry is stitched into a state's institutional network amounts to depriving oneself of the means to understand the dynamics, which although rarely governing the film industry directly, at least decisively shape its options, procedures and thus its products. (2006: 41)

This approach to a national cinema requires one to consider cinema 'not as an immutable object, but as a historically (institutionally) delineated set of practices caught within, among others, the dynamics besetting and characterising national configuration' (Willeman 2006: 42). Therefore, in this study, South African cinema is considered to be 'historically fluctuating,' as a process that facilitates the continuous construction and reinforcement of indigenous cultural myths (Hayward 2005: 16). Cinema is viewed as a textualisation of the nation in which popular myths of cultural specificity are reinforced (Ibid.). Such specificity, however, is far from being fixed. In fact, it transforms dynamically as the meaning of 'national' 'changes according to political, social and economic pressures and mutations (Ibid.). Therefore, in this study it is argued that 'there is no single cinema that is *the* national cinema, but several, … there is flux, slippage even, between the various cinemas which constitute the nation's cinemas' (Hayward 2005: 14). In conclusion, as with filmmaking on the African continent in general, there simply 'is no single entity called '[South] African Cinema,' and the films produced over the past hundred years offer at best a very partial (if totally fascinating) image of the history and current development of the continent [country]' (Armes 2008: 1). Therefore, rather than being identified as a unified homogenous whole, in this study, 'South African Cinema' is approached as a dynamic mosaic, as an artwork that combines a multitude of different cinematic images representative of a diversity of cultural origins.

2.2.5. Globalisation and Neoliberalism

John Hartley describes globalisation as the 'recent intensification of networks, alliances and interconnections in economics, cultures and politics' (2002: 97-98). Furthermore, 'the map of globalisation is one where separate national economies are becoming part of a new decentered economy and that fears have arisen that countries will lose their independence through this process' (Ibid.). However, it is also clear that 'states are complicit in globalisation as it is their consent that advances the global economy in order to improve their own economic standing' (Ibid.). Globalisation is one of the relatively new and increasingly dominant forces in the socio-cultural and political environment of post-apartheid South Africa and is therefore a key concept to consider in the analysis of this society. Since the fall of apartheid, the South Africa has been re-integrated into the global community with economic sanctions being dropped and international economists showing a

growing interest in this emerging market. Saks explains that 'just as South Africa's rejection by the rest of world involved expulsion from economic, political and cultural global institutions, so its relegitimization has taken the form of incorporation back into these economies' (2001: 1).

Neoliberalism is closely associated with the globalisation of markets, where nation states are strongly encouraged by international agencies such as the World Trade Organisation (WTO) and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) to open up their borders to free-market trade. It is a complex, multi-faceted phenomenon, and most countries, including South Africa, are characterised by having a range of different influences and do not fit neatly into one particular paradigm. However, for the purpose of this study it is useful to outline some of the key characteristics of neoliberalsim so that they can be contrasted and compared to other influences in the film industry and in the country as a whole. These characteristics include: (1) Market-led growth, where the market is seen to be the most efficient means of organising the economy and is the main determinant of national growth. (2) Avoidance of state intervention, because direct intervention is seen to disturb the natural competition and the doctrine of the market. (3) Outward-orientated economy, with the focus being on global markets and production for export. (4) Trade liberalisation, where the national borders are opened to trade with other states rather than citizens being protected from global competition by state law and subsidies. (5) Privatisation, where state assets are sold to private investors and the burden of social provisioning is shifted to the private sector, and lastly (6) Fiscal prudence, where the state has a limited budget, particularly when it comes to public intervention (Hartwick and Peet 2003: 189; Mhone and Edigheji, 2004: 1).

2.2.6. The Film Industry

In this study this term is understood as any activity related to the production of films, commercials, stills and television products and thus 'includes pre-production, post-production, distribution, exhibition and film financing' (Tuomi 2007: 68). Film policy is an important part of this environment when it comes to state involvement in such processes. Film policy is concerned with questions of 'content, representation and profitability' (Tomaselli and Shepperson 2002: 63.)

2.2.7. Representation

Stuart Hall defines representation as the means of 'using language to say something meaningful about, or to represent the world meaningfully to other people' (1997: 15). Representation involves 'the use of language, signs and images which stand for and represent things' (Ibid.). In this thesis, I analyse how concepts of national identity are communicated in filmic text through various signs and images. Thus, film is approached as a space where meanings are produced and exchanged [mediated] between people transnationally. This analysis contrasts current cinematic representations to historic and prevailing trends. Particular emphasis is placed on historical representations of Africa, which have been exceedingly pessimistic and have largely focused on wild animals, poverty, famine, disease, and corruption (Hall 1997: 36). Such representations could be defined as stereotypes: as a reduction of people or places 'to a few, simple, essential characteristics which are represented as fixed by nature' (Hall 1997: 257). Hall explains that this 'signifying practice is central to the representation of racial difference' (Ibid.). Furthermore, such racial representations can be linked directly to modernist movements such as apartheid, which have 'given rise to national identities, racial categorisations, and the notion of fixed subjectivities' (Tomaselli 2006: 95). Therefore, in this thesis, race is approached as a social construct, rather than a timeless phenomenon and racial representation in post-apartheid film is a central concern in analysis.

Stereotyping can be linked to questions of difference, representation and power: 'the power to represent someone or something in a certain way - within a certain 'regime' or representation' (Hall 1997: 259). This definition of power is most relevant to the post-apartheid context where marginalised individuals are struggling to find a voice in this recently emancipated society. Thus, a further concern in this thesis with regards to representation is not only what is on screen but, who is behind the scenes, creating and influencing the images we watch. This is not to say that I believe there to be a fixed, or 'correct representational formula' of making a film. There is clearly no simple correlation between the race or social class of a director and the person/people represented in his/her film. For example, with regards to race, Tomaselli has argued that a director does not have 'the key to a character just because both are black or that a white director or actor cannot

portray black realities' (2006: 105). However, in relation to the struggle for freedom from racial oppression in South Africa, representational issues along racial lines do become an important concern; one that cannot be ignored in analysis. In cinematic analysis it is important to consider 'who has the right to speak for whom, about whom and to whom' (Ibid.). The question of 'to whom', or audience, is of central importance to this discussion, since it is likely to influence the representations on screen. For example, a filmmaker wishing to portray their experience of a black or white 'South African reality' may feel certain pressure (from financial partners or distributors, for example) to address an audience that has little association with the reality portrayed on screen. Thackway (2003) notes that this has led to African filmmakers often foregrounding their 'otherness', which not only interferes with the director's artistic vision, but also risks the multiplicity of the identities portrayed on screen (20-21).

In closing this discussion on representation, it is important to note that while race is a central concern in this study, I also consider the representation of gender in analysis, which is a key issue in African cinema. For example, Thackway notes that African women have mostly been ignored in films about Africa, and when they are included, there has been a tendency to portray these characters 'as passive victims of poverty and patriarchal oppression' denying them any sense of power or agency (Ibid.).

2.2.8. Culture and Multiculturalism

Like the term 'nation', 'culture' is rather complex to define, 'mostly because it is a slippery term, malleable, morphing, growing and developing expansively, embracing all the facets of our existence' (Mistry 2001: 1). Griggs explains that it is an 'evolving and dynamic relationship between people and territory' (1992: 2). Hall clarifies this further by stating that:

> Culture is used to refer to whatever is distinctive about the 'way of life' of a people, community, nation or social group. Culture is not a set of things, it is a set of practices, people belonging to the same culture interpret the world in roughly the same way and can express their feelings, themselves, thoughts about world in a way which can be understood by each other. (1997: 2)

South Africa is recognised to be a place where a great diversity of 'cultures' abound. In fact, the 'new South African government is at pains to celebrate the [cultural] diversity of the nation' (Mistry 2001: 2). For example, if one studies the new constitution (1996) of the country, which is the 'political dimension' informing South African cultural production,' one finds that this document 'protects, if not celebrates differences in culture as a right of the peoples of South Africa, by acknowledging and compensating for the imbalances of the past' (Mistry 2001: 3). The symbol of the 'Rainbow Nation' is a further example of this national discourse of multiculturalism, which seeks to promote national reconciliation through a mutual respect of differences (Baines 1998: 4). This trope is designed to allow all the country's 'cultural groups' to celebrate their individuality and uniqueness while simultaneously providing a secure sense of unity and belonging, as the 'colour' of each group is needed to complete the spectrum of the rainbow. If one relates this concept to above discussions on nations, these 'cultural groups' could be approached as culturally derived nations, which are united by the ideology of the state.

However, the discourse of multiculturalism has been the subject of certain criticism because it can imply that these 'groups' 'exist within a given country as small, self-contained pockets or islands, miniature replicas of an alleged community's allegedly original national culture, as repositories of some cultural authenticity to be found elsewhere in time and space' (Willemen 2006: 31). This understanding of culture is particularly problematic in South Africa where racial division and oppression under apartheid were motivated by the separate development or 'protection' of such 'authentic', 'pure' and inherently different communities. Not only did this lead to the majority of the population and their 'associated cultural territories' being deliberately disempowered and under-developed, but such people were encouraged (if not forced) to practise 'traditional' or 'authentic' ways of life rather than being integrated into the modern city life. Therefore, multiculturalism needs to be approached cautiously in post-apartheid South Africa, because there is a danger that this discourse, rather than freeing people from the shackles of the stereotyped, apartheid identities, (by encouraging inter-mixing and hybridity) may in fact re-enforce such identities (Ibid.).

2.2.9. Authenticity

It is clear from the above discussion that one of the central difficulties with the multicultural discourse is its connection to the restrictive concept of authenticity, which can be seen to approach cultural practices as essentialised, fixed and timeless rather than dynamic, multifarious and overlapping. Authenticity can be linked to nationalist discourses in general, because countries freed from colonialism have often found it necessary to re-examine the 'national' (nation-state) identities left to them by the colonisers. For example, in his discussions on Irish national cinema, McLoone (2006) questions the contemporary relevance of Irish nationalism. He notes that such nationalism was originally 'constructed' by the coloniser and has been 'built on essentialist notions of Irishness and, in its narrowness and exclusivity, it oppressed as much as it liberated' (McLoone 2006: 90). Furthermore, although this narrowness has been challenged by certain contemporary, alternative movements in Irish cinema:

> The increasingly global nature of contemporary capitalism and the homogenising nature of the consumerist culture that it promotes, poses a considerable threat to the 'difference' of indigenous cultures everywhere. It makes necessary a political and cultural response based on nationalist imaginings. This is the only way in which the great diversity of human cultures can be maintained against the cultural imperialism of capitalism and especially the popular culture of the USA. (Ibid.)

In this study, I examine how these concurrent trends play out in post-apartheid cinematic products and processes. On the one hand, I discuss the extent to which the narrow, exclusive images of the various cultural/national identities have been transgressed in cinema through the embrace of hybridised or globalised models. Secondly, I examine whether nationalist, indigenised imaginings are supported in this environment. In these discussions, I not only consider cinematic texts, but also look at whether this dichotomy is evident in the wider industry, particularly at the level of national film policy because as Willemen notes, this represents a **'**dilemma for national politics everywhere - a seemingly impossible choice between a self-defeating essentialism and a self-abusing capitulation' (Ibid.).

2.2.10. Cinema

Of central importance to this study is the concept of cinema. In this study, 'South African cinema' refers to the entire institution of filmmaking, film distribution, film exhibition and film viewing in South Africa (Kolker: 1998: 11). Moreover, cinema is approached as a public, commercial and social art, which is authorised by multiple individuals and institutional bodies rather than being the product of an individual director's artistic vision (Kolker: 1998: 14). Thus, cinematic production is seen to be socially constructed 'within a three-cornered association between filmmakers, film spectators, and the film texts themselves, and at every point in that nexus of relationships, we encounter negotiation and interaction involving active social beings and institutionalised social practices' (Tudor 1998: 194). Furthermore, Willemen (1996) argues that cinema is bounded by a network of industrial institutions that commonly include studios, production companies, distributors, and exhibitors. These institutions are significant since they govern and 'define specific ways of producing and circulating specific objects: films' (41). Therefore, cinema is a part of a country's industrial framework. As a public communication system it belongs to the 'cultural industries'. However, it should be noted that while such industries are seen to 'clearly have a range of features in common with other areas of production and are increasingly integrated into the general industrial structure,' they are also distinguished from other forms of industrial production, since they goods manufacture 'play a pivotal role in organising the images and discourses through which people make sense of the world' (Golding and Murdock 1991: 15). Therefore, in this writing, although cinema is related to the larger economic structure of the country, it is approached as more than a commodity. Rather, cinema is seen to have the potential to facilitate the sharing of ideas, cultural and artistic expressions, representations and meanings among the members of a society.

2.3. Theoretical Background

2.3.1. Introduction

Theories applied in analysis and related research questions are informed by a number of writers representing a diversity of academic disciplines. These key theories, understandings and questions will be outlined here in relation to the topic at hand. The writings of Kenneth Harrow have had a great influence on the theoretical approach adopted in this research

project. In this thesis, I have referred extensively to his book *Postcolonial African Cinema from Political Engagement to Postmodernism*, where Harrow states that it is time for 'a revolution in African film criticism. A revolution against the old, tired formulas deployed in justification of filmmaking practices that have not substantially changed in forty years' (2007: x).

2.3.2. Challenging 'Truisms'

Harrow directly challenges the 'safe and comfortable truisms' of African film criticism including:

1. African film is important in the communication of history, in the correction of past misrepresentations of history.
2. African film is important in writing back to Hollywood and back to misrepresentations of Africa in mainstream media.
3. African film represents African society, African people, African culture.
4. African film should be the site of truth.
5. African film is African (Ibid.).

These 'truisms' are indeed central to much of African film criticism. For example, the first three of these statements can be seen to be in direct opposition to arguments made by Melissa Thackway in her book *Africa Shoots Back* (2003) where she states:

> It is easy to understand the urgency of telling one's own history/ies and experiences in Africa's vital process of rediscovering and self-definition. History and memory are positioned here as a form of resistance giving African scholars, artists and filmmakers the freedom to say out loud what 90 years of oppression and colonialism forbade us from saying. (94).

Moreover, as mentioned earlier in this thesis, Thackway claims that films about Africa tend to focus on poverty, famine, disease, corruption and war, which have made Africa the 'other' in comparison to the 'developed, safe West' (Thackway 2003: 93). It is argued that such representations 'play a powerful role in forming people's perceptions and therefore, need to be challenged (Ibid.). While, it might not be appropriate to apply Thackway's approach in cinematic analysis without reservation, since there *is* a danger of falling into the trap authenticity and perpetuating corrective, fixed notions of cinematic practice and meaning, neither do I think that Harrow's understanding of African cinema can be applied

uncritically. One cannot ignore the fact that following the collapse of the oppressive apartheid regime; a need has arisen for a more democratic culture of representation. Thus, it is quite understandable that moves have been made to include and empower those who were previously excluded from cinematic production and consumption so that they can also find a voice and share their stories. Therefore, although I do refer to Harrow's writings quite extensively in this thesis, I recognise this need for a radical reform in representational practices and the desire of previously oppressed persons to challenge demeaning representations and stereotypes on screen.

2.3.3. Authenticity and Authority

Harrow argues that 'all five "shibboleths" cited above' are indicative of the 'continuing preoccupation with authenticity in African film criticism: authenticity in the representation of history, of the culture and people, of the screen image, of the truth, and of Africanity' (2007: xi). In the conceptual framework above, the notion of authenticity was found to be problematic since it relies on essentialist, fixed notions of people and their associated cultures. Moreover, Harrow argues that authority is a much more relevant focus of enquiry since 'there is no history to represent, to correct, in film. There is only authority that represents itself, and in its power represents images and narrative as authoritative, as authorized, as official or worse still, as real' (Harrow 2007: x). Furthermore, if one recognises that authenticity is linked to the binary of inside/outside (where inside is authentic and outside is inauthentic), one finds further evidence of its inadequacy as an analytical term since this binary 'is not and has never been an accurate indicator of African culture and society' (Harrow 2007: xii-xiii). Harrow argues that this recognition can allow one to move on from concerns of authenticity ('who speaks') to questions of authority ('who can produce the speech,' 'who can disseminate the discourse,' 'who can control its production') (Ibid.). Accordingly, in this study, authority, rather than authenticity is the central concern, with hierarchies of authority both within the production of cinematic products and within the texts themselves being a focal point of analysis (Ibid.). Therefore, gaining an intimate understanding of the production, distribution, exhibition and consumption models that characterise the post-apartheid cinema industry is essential. It is also important to understand how such models intersect with the socio-economic reality and

political ideology of the country. Because, as 'the medium that brings us closest to the imaginary,' to a space where the viewer must, even momentarily 'relinquish hold' on 'the credibility of an authorized account of reality,' film might be one of the best illustrations of how fantasy and desire play an important role in the ideological interpellation of any viewing audience (Harrow 2007: 15). Thus, gaining an understanding of current industry conditions and the relationship between such and the prevailing politico-economic reality is a key objective in this thesis. Questions to be asked in this regard are:

- What kinds of processes characterise post-apartheid cinematic production, distribution and consumption?
- How do such models interact with state policy and politico-economic ideology?
- Which production finance models are most widely applied in the post-apartheid film industry?
- Are different production finance models aligned with specific target markets?

2.3.4. The Role of Fantasy and Realism in African Cinemas

This emphasis on fantasy and desire in Harrow's work stands in contrast to much work of 'African filmmakers' like Ousmane Sembéne who have favoured a more serious and ideological cinema. For example, Harrow explains that 'in the early years of African filmmaking the superficial, entertainment qualities of cinema were rejected in favour of a cinema of engagement with a more political and social focus' (Harrow 2007: xiii-xiv). In his book, he highlights a series of Sembéne's films using them as 'openings into the larger questions of African cinema' (Harrow 2007: 1). Through these films he addresses the central concern of the book, which is to address the price paid by later generations of African filmmakers for 'following Sembéne's approach to an ideologically driven cinema' (Ibid.). He analyses a number of such films in detail, focusing on the structure of such works. He finds the structure to be along the lines of the classic realist, three-act narrative (applied widely in Hollywood). Although Harrow does note that there are certain differences between these two filmic traditions, he argues that Sembéne's work is very closely related to this classic approach to structure, where a problem is established in the first act, followed by a false conclusion in the second and a real solution and the re-

establishment of a 'sense of order' are found in the third (Harrow 2007: 8). Harrow criticises Sembéne's embrace of a fixed ideological position prior to the 'character's embarkation into the plot' because this 'positions the viewer in the place of the passive receiver of knowledge rather than an active participant in the discovery of knowledge' (Ibid.).

Harrow questions what price African social realist cinema has paid for 'sticking to this [realist] structure' (Harrow 2007: 9) and, in his writing, he critically examines the role of realist cinema in society. Such cinema is said to be dependent on reflections of what is considered to be 'normal or natural' and in doing so 'conforms to patterns of ideological interpellation' (Ibid.). In this study, this understanding of realist cinema is harnessed to gain insight into the wider 'structures of credibility that are inevitably enmeshed in hierarchies of power' (Ibid.) This understanding of realist cinema is also found to have implications for the analysis of representations in cinema, because there is 'a direct link between a normalized temporality and the normalizing of correlative determinisms, including those in which gender and class are incorporated' (Harrow 2007: 17). Thus, in realist films, representations can be seen to be subjected to hierarchies of power, which are ingrained in the dominant ideological paradigm. Harrow links this argument to the writings of Louis Althusser (1971) and his concept of 'State Ideological Apparatuses (ISA)' (118).

2.3.5. State Ideological Apparatuses

This thesis presents a critical politico-economic reading of post-apartheid cinema. This approach is relevant since it attempts to illustrate 'how different ways of financing and organizing cultural production have traceable consequences for the range of discourses and representations in the public domain and for the audience's access to them' (Golding and Murdock 1991: 15). The writings of Louis Althusser, in particular his seminal essay entitled 'Ideology and ideological state apparatuses: Notes toward and understanding' (1970) have influenced the theoretical basis of this thesis. Althusser, as a structural Marxist, focused on the structures of society and investigated how sociological, psychological and linguistic structures controlled the actions of the individual (Bennet, Slater and Wall 2006: 223). He conceived the structure of each society as a topographic edifice constituted of two

levels, (1) the infrastructure, or economic basis, which consists of the productive forces and (2) the superstructure, which is made up of two 'levels': 'the polico-legal (Law and the State) and ideology' (Althusser 1971: 1-90). The purpose of this metaphor was to illustrate that the upper floors cannot stand without the support of their economic base or infrastructure (Ibid.). Or, in other words, the structure of society, including the ideological and politico-legal aspects, are determined 'in the last instance' by their economic base. Althusser, approached the state as a 'machine of repression which enables the ruling class to ensure their domination over the working class, thus enabling the former to subject the latter to surplus-value extortion' (Althusser 1971: 92). What is essential in this relationship of domination is the state's ability to reproduce 'the conditions of production' (Althusser 1971: 85). Such conditions are perpetuated by the state through repressive apparatuses such as the police force, the army, the government, the administration system and the court and through ideological state apparatuses (ISAs) such as the education system, the family, the legal system, the political system public communications systems (radio, television, film) and culture, which function by means of ideology (Althusser 1971: 96). When a citizen adopts the dominant ideology through one of the ISAs, this is known as ideological interpellation (Ibid.).

In this study, I investigate the applicability of Althusser's concept of Ideological State Apparatuses (ISA) within the context of the post-apartheid film industry. Although it is not my intention to debate Althusser, but merely to draw on his writings in my contextualisation of apartheid and post-apartheid cinema, I will briefly explain how such theories have informed this writing. Firstly, although I do refer to ISAs, I have not attempted to measure the influence of film viewing on the ideological development of audiences, but have rather focused on the relationship between national ideologies and the representations of identity on screen. Secondly it is important to note that although I have found the writings of Althusser to be a useful point of reference in this writing, I am conscious that structuralism has received serious criticism from theorists due to its often rigid and singular conception of society (Golding and Murdock 1991: 19). Golding and Murdock propose a flexible, and less 'determinalist' approach in critical politico-economic writing: 'we can think of economic dynamics as defining, key features of the general environment within which communicative activity takes place, but not as a complete explanation of the nature of that activity' (Ibid.). Therefore, in my analysis I avoid over-

generalising or essentialising when referring to the influence of economic power dynamics on the film industry landscape. Instead I address the context of the wider filmmaking environment in my analysis, highlighting complexities and contradictions when applicable. Furthermore, rather than using Althusser's structuralist ideas as a prime basis in analysis, I have applied a diverse set of theories with post-modernism, post-structuralism and post-colonialism being important sources of guidance in writing.

The term post-structuralism is associated with a group of theorists that 'seeked to move beyond the premises of structuralism, to develop new models of thought, writing and subjectivity' (Barns et al 2001: 3). Theorists such as Jacques Derrida (1966, 1973, 1978 and 1998), Roland Barthes (1967) and Michel Foucault (1976) rejected the idea that texts have an underlying, singular meaning controlled by a single author. Peters cautions, however that the term post-structuralism should not be used to 'convey a sense of homogeneity' because it was, in fact, a contested label 'used by the English-speaking academic community 'to describe a distinctively *philosophical* response to the "scientific" pretentions and status of structuralism' (2001:1). Post-structuralism is closely associated with the groundbreaking post-modernist movement: a complex reexamination of previously dominant discourses, including those of structuralism and modernism. In their writings, post-modernists rejected rationalism, objectivism and singularity and embraced hybridity, multiplicity, relativism and subjectivity instead (Lyotard 1979; Jameson 1991). Likewise, post-structuralists focused on multiple, *subjective* readings of a text rather searching for a singular, fixed, underlying meaning (Barthes 1967).

In this writing, I draw on structuralist, post-modernist and post-structuralist theory. For example, although I focus on the economic workings of the post-apartheid industry and consider Althusser's concept of ideological apparatuses in my analysis, I understand cinematic meaning and identity to be hybrid, dynamic, multiple and subjective. Furthermore, my critique of neoliberalism links to post-structural analysis, which has often been concerned to dislodge 'the certainties of neoliberal orthodoxies (Barns et al 9). These connections between structuralism and post-structuralism have also observed by Peters, who argued that there is 'nothing necessarily anti-Marxist or post-Marxist about poststructuralism' (2001:12). In fact, it is 'entirely possible to produce a reading of Marx

that is both postmodernist and poststructuralist' with Althusserian structuralist Marxism having a major impact on the generation of thinkers known (in English speaking territories) as post-structuralist (Ibid.).[13]

2.3.6. Towards a Politico-economic Understanding of Post-apartheid Cinema

Critical political economy theory, although not applied naively, has provided an important framework for analysis. Most importantly, such writings have assisted me in defining the third objective of this study, which focuses on the relationship between this physical and ideological environment and the dynamics of national identity representation in post-apartheid cinema. This objective will be explored through an analysis of general industry trends, prevailing funding models and specific cinematic texts. The questions to be asked in this regard are:

- How do specific production finance models influence cinematic production?
- To what extent does the target market of the product inform the national identities represented on screen?
- How do identities onscreen interact with the complex, multi-faceted nature of post-apartheid society?

In the book *Theorising National Cinema*, Paul Willemen and Valentina Vitali (2006) explain that there are two basic understandings of cinema, (1) cinema as an industry, and (2) cinema as a 'cluster of cultural strategies' (2006: 2). This 'dual' understanding is most relevant to the post-apartheid context, where there appears to be a tension between the state's aspiration to (1) develop film on an industrial level by focusing on ways of making commercially viable products and selling them internationally, and (2) a more 'cultural' approach, where cinema is recognised as a transformative, nation-building tool and emphasis is placed on democratising the sector and developing the domestic market (Tuomi 2006: 3). My intention in this study is to explore this tension against the backdrop of the current industrial and ideological landscape, and in the process address the consequences of such for the 'range of discourses and representations' available in post-apartheid cinema

[13] Here Peters cites Foucault (1991), Lyotard (1984) and Deleuse and Guattari's (1977).

(Golding and Murdock 1991: 15). In these discussions, I also address the fourth objective of the study, which is to assess the extent to which historical barriers to transformation have been transgressed in post-apartheid cinema. The following questions relate to this objective:

- Has the state succeeded in its vision to empower the previously disadvantaged communities to participate in cinematic production and consumption?
- To what extent does the black majority inform post-apartheid cinematic production?

2.3.7. Ideological Interpellation and National Identity

Harrow provides an interesting discussion relevant to the study of national identity dynamics in cinema. He explains that according to Althusser, when a person responds to an interpellation made by an ISA, he or she is in fact responding to the 'intentions and presence' which are supposedly guiding this apparatus (2007: 118). Moreover, he argues that in 'his or her response to the interpellation, the subject 'recognizes' him or herself as the one being hailed, and that recognition is an act of constituting oneself as whole or unified - as having an ego-identity' (Ibid.). This 'misrecognition' is in fact 'another way of being 'authentic', or recognizing and responding to authenticity' (Ibid.). Thus, according to this argument, a person's response to a film is, at least in part, a response to the ideology of the state. Moreover, in this response to this ideology, a person can encounter feelings of 'recognition', which can play a decisive role in the constitution of an ego identity.

Since film is a form of public communication, this process of misrecognition can be linked to the constitution of a wider, or 'national' identity. This is one of the levels at which I explore national identity dynamics in post-apartheid cinema. In my analysis, I focus on the concept of stereotypes, and the related complex processes of misrecognition where, driven by a narcissistic need to identify or find authenticity, individuals sometimes 'turn a blind eye to that which has produced, has fabricated, these identities – be they represented as individuals, genders or 'tribes'' (Harrow 2007: 125). It is important to note, however, that in this analysis, I adopt a somewhat conservative approach, to avoid falling into the traps of determinism and structuralism. Moreover, I am careful not to assume that there is a 'bright

line between the deceptive ideological claims and the truthful portrayal of reality' (Harrow 2007: 124) because, one cannot assume there to be a 'nonideological space that lies outside the duplicitous range of ideology' (Ibid.). Therefore, in my analysis of specific films, although I do highlight instances of stereotyping (such as the essentialisation of specific race or gender groups for example), I do not claim to be able to step outside of my own ideological position and offer a correct, true and non-ideological version of the world portrayed on screen. Moreover, my focus is more on who has produced such images, what has informed this portrayal and how this portrayal relates to the world that it represents. In doing so, I attempt to shift the focus away from an analysis of depth to the cinematic surface and to deconstruct the surface/depth dichotomy.

This shift to the 'surface' is advocated by Harrow, who argues that 'realism is based on the binary surface/depth and privileges depth'. In fact, he argues that much of modern textual analysis has been based on the supposition that the surface is 'of lesser importance- that is superficial- while the underlying meaning or value is understood to be deep, profound, and meaningful' (Harrow 2007: 29). Harrow explains how in a visit to the Tate Modern in London he considered the role of surface and depth in the various artworks on display. He was particularly taken by the 'Naked Woman with Necklace' (1968) by Picasso in which 'the subject was brought to the surface – where the artist has engaged with the surface as surface as opposed to earlier art movements that had focused on the validity of depth' (Harrow 2007: 32). He notes that 'I reconsidered our newfound interest in popular culture, in melodrama, in video dramas, in low art, in all that we had dismissed as cheap or meretricious or unworthy of serious analysis or engagement as an extension of the validation of the surface' (Ibid.). Thus, as a study on cinema, which is a form of popular culture, this thesis is necessarily an extension on this validation of the surface.

However, Harrow asserts that 'techniques intended to emphasise the naturalness of action – character developments, continuity editing, shot/reverse-shot, deep focus, and camera movement', combine to create the illusion of motion and the illusion that film, like a mirror, is a reflection of reality and that similar to the surface of a mirror it 'conceals entirely its quality as surface' (Harrow 2007: 46). This can make focusing on the surface of film rather difficult, because one is naturally drawn into the story, into the illusion of reality

– the illusion of depth. Nevertheless, he claims that if one is to attempt to move beyond the restrictions of this binary, it won't be by forgetting or ignoring 'the choice of a material manifestation of a symbolizeable real, but rather by asking what relationship that symbolic, material world bears to what it conceals/reveals' (Harrow 2007: 125). This leads to the final strand of enquiry in this research project, which is to question the relationship between what is portrayed on screen and that which is reveals or conceals.

2.3.8. The Insides and Outsides of South African Cinema

In his writing, Harrow, challenges a number of earlier approaches to film criticism including the writings of Teshome Gabriel (1982) and Férid Boughedir's (1976), which can be seen to support a hierarchical notion of national cinema, where copying Hollywood is the lowest on the scale and Third Cinema is the 'highest stage, associated with the struggle for national independence' (Harrow 2007: 25). Later critical work such as Nwachukwu Frank Ukadike and Diawara (1992) is also seen to sympathise with this model and to compare African filmmaking techniques to those of the 'dominate European/Hollywoodian filmmaking practise' (Harrow 2007: 26). However, Harrow suggests that the 'construction of African film criticism around such categories depended upon modernist and nationalist models that continue to inform, prescribe, and limit our thinking' (2007: 24). Such categories are based on the aforementioned problematic binary of inside and outside, where the inside is the site of the authentic, and the outside is what gives meaning to that site (Harrow 2007: 113-4). Furthermore, until this binary is deconstructed we will 'remain prisoners of the same intellectual moorings that supplied the foundations for a racist and oppressive history' (Harrow 2007: 114). This binary can be linked to the final two truisms on Harrow's list, namely: 'African film is true' and 'African film is African,' because the 'inside' is the space of truth, authenticity or Africanity, while the 'outside,' is that which is false, or foreign.

Therefore, in recognition of the hybrid, syncretic, and multifaceted culture of South Africa, rather than searching for the 'pure', or the authentic, I embrace the hybrid in my analysis. I do this at two levels. Firstly, I recognise syncreticism of the subject under study by focusing on, rather than masking, outside elements or influences. Such elements are viewed as a form of 'domestication,' where images and idioms have been taken from elsewhere and rendered

'familiar or the same' (Harrow 2007: xi). This focus on domestication relates to Harrow's suggested 'way forward' for African film criticism, which is similar to Bhabha's position in that it 'looks for difference as the site for resistance to colonialism' (Ibid.). However this 'difference' is not equivalent to the 'difference without différance' or 'multiculturalism,' as it is known today (Harrow 2007: 27-28), which is dependent on a 'hermetically closed, fixed, monadic vision of identity – of cultural identity, and by the extension, of social identity, with people bound to such fixed entities' (Ibid.). On the contrary, this approach looks at plurality and at 'the spaces 'in-between' fixed colonial and apartheid positioning of identities' (Maingard 2007: 3). Moreover, this writing explores the current negotiations in post-apartheid cinema over spaces, authorities and identities because, as Maingard argues, a 'fuller spectrum of identities and identifications' is in the making (2007: 4).

The second level at which the hybrid is embraced in this thesis, is through the incorporation of a variety of academic disciplines including those of Western/European origin. This is not because I believe that it is appropriate to apply 'Western' critical paradigms uncritically, since 'European methods and theories often cannot account for ways in which African forms of expression have integrated with other forms, or for indigenous ways of knowing, making sense and interpreting films' (Tomaselli 2006: 75). Nevertheless, it is important to recognise the decisive role that 'outsiders' have played in the formation of local culture. As Harrow argues, 'key aspects of 'foreign' thought have travelled throughout history across borders' (2007: 198). Moreover, contemporary international borders 'were never there in the first place,' and 'hundreds of years of intercourse between Africa and Europe have guaranteed a mutual interdependence in the formation of their respective cultures' (Ibid.).

Furthermore, in this writing on the representation of national identity in post-apartheid cinema, I do not attempt to 'pin' an exclusively South African identity onto the films under discussion or onto the filmmakers themselves. Lucia Saks explains that continental filmmakers 'no longer want to be tied so closely, or exclusively to state politics, nationalism' (2003: 156). On the contrary, while filmmakers may 'draw heavily on their African context, or on a particular set of cultural modulations that inflect certain formal elements of film – the sense of space and time, rhythm, language and gesture,' this is not indicative that such films are 'representative of either national or a continental consciousness' (Ibid.).

This shift in attitude away from politics, ideology and nationalism is also reflected in the perceptions of audiences in Africa, who, particularly in Anglophone countries (like South Africa) are 'no longer treated as potential revolutionaries who need to be educated and culturally transformed but rather as consumers, as participants in a worldwide entertainment and leisure industry' (Ibid.). In accordance with Saks's argument, in this study, the shift away from didacticism to entertainment is not regarded as 'a selling out to the West' (2003: 157). Rather, this is viewed as a progressive move through which film production can be broadened and filmmakers might be emancipated from state hegemony; a move that can allow individuals to form new identities and forge 'their own affiliations with other progressive cinemas irrespective of geography or nation or race' (Ibid.).

2.4. Research Methodology

2.4.1. Introduction

This thesis is based on theoretical and empirical research. The theoretical research has largely followed the suggestions made by Susan Hayward in her writings on French national cinema and has included analysis of published material including academic, commercial and government media.[14] The empirical research on the other hand, has been qualitative in nature with interviews being conducted with over forty film industry experts between February 2007 and November 2008. These interviews have followed a semi-structured qualitative model, and were conducted in Cape Town, Johannesburg, Durban and Knysna. Presentations made at the Andrew W. Mellon Post-apartheid Film Industry Symposium at the University of Cape Town in 2008 have also been an important source of information.[15]

[14] Particular attention has been paid to the following government strategy documents: The Department of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology's Cultural Industries Growth Strategy Report (1998), The National Film and Video Foundation's (NFVF) Indaba Report (2001), The NFVF Value Charter (2004), The Human Sciences Research Council's South African Film and Video Industry Survey (2004), The Cape Film Commission's (CFC) Audience Development Report (Pillay and Ntuli 2004), The NFVF's Indaba Report (2005), The Department of Trade and Industry's Film and Television Strategy Document (2005), The Western Cape Department of Economic Development and Tourism's Film Sector Micro Economic Development Strategy (Tuomi, 2005) and The CFC's Audience Development Report (Gillis, G 2006).

[15] This conference was entitled 'South African Cinema: Creativity, Representation and Commercialism in the Post-Apartheid Film Industry' and was held at the University of Cape Town on the 30th of May 2008. It was organised by the author as a part of her AW Mellon PhD Fellowship and was open to public attendance. The event facilitated formal presentations and also discussions between academics, distributors, filmmakers and film publicists.

2.4.2. Theoretical Research

With regards to theoretical research, like Susan Hayward (2005), I have considered two fundamental axes of reflection (5). With the first axis, I analyse how 'the national' has been articulated in the relevant texts including: (1) a selection of films and (2) the discourses that surround them (Hayward 2005: 6).[16] With regards to films, the number of case studies has been limited to three since it is my intention to provide a detailed contextual and textual analysis of each work. Yet, it should be noted that a much larger number of films has informed the analysis of dominant industry trends (refer to Chapters Four). Appendix A provides a database of post-1994 films. This data has been sourced from qualitative interviews, and data provided and/or published by Roy Armes (in his *Dictionary of African Cinema*, 2008) M-Net, The Department of Trade and Industry (DTI), The National Film and Video Foundation (NFVF), Ster-Kinekor Entertainment and the Screen Africa Magazine. For the purpose of accuracy, and with the intention of compiling as complete a database as possible, I have cross-checked data extensively and have also conducted further desktop research, with the Internet Movie Database (www.imdb.com) being a particularly helpful point of reference. This collated list was also emailed to 55 film industry professionals for further verification. Nevertheless, despite such efforts, I was not able to confirm all of the details as intended. Therefore, it is possible that minor factual errors have been included and certain omissions have occurred. Devising selection criteria for the database and the case studies was no simple task. Below, I provide a detailed explanation of the decisions and difficulties involved in this process. However, this is not to say that the attached database is definitive or 'correct.' On the contrary, I am certain that contradictions and/or omissions may subsequently be identified. Nevertheless, I believe that this is an inherent risk when making a list of this nature, particularly when available documentation on the subject is so thin. Furthermore, provided that the 'parameters of data inclusion' and the data collection processes are clarified, I believe that the compiled data will be a most valuable resource not only in my own research, but also for future research on this subject.

[16] Although Hayward suggests that one consider archives here, I have not covered this since in South Africa, national archival practices, particularly when it comes to film, are rather weak, and while cinémathéques may abound in France, this phenomenon has yet to reach or make any significant impact on the South African distribution/archival/exhibition environment.

The writings of Roy Armes's (2008) and Susan Hayward (2005) provided an important point of reference. Hayward maintains that in the analysis of a 'national' cinema, 'popular cinema production – in its true proportion to other cinemas – informs the corpus to be researched as do consumption practices' (2005: 6). Therefore, the first criterion for inclusion was to select films that are connected to dominant/popular production, exhibition, distribution and consumption trends rather than focusing on exceptional cases or anomalies. Moreover, since the study is concerned with the mediation of national identity, I have selected films that have been distributed quite widely (through mainstream distribution channels) either on a national or, in some cases, on a national and international basis.

The time frame represented the second criteria for selection. It is clear that since this study is on post-apartheid South Africa, the films chosen need to have been made between 1994 and the present. Since I wanted to focus specifically on the post-apartheid context rather than the transition from apartheid to democracy, when choosing the case studies, I decided to focus on texts released after 2004, assuming that this might allow the democratic society and its associated national identity time to develop and evolve. Nevertheless, it should be noted that as Maingard states in her book on South African national cinema, there is 'no clear division between the apartheid era and post-apartheid democracy' (2007: 116). While there are indeed 'moments and events that delineate points in history signifying change or the potential for change', such as the move from the oppressive regime of apartheid to democracy, 'there are ways beyond time in which, in the experience of life in South Africa, the syntagmas of history overlap … and the lines of these pasts cross through and are entangled with the present' (Ibid.). Therefore, in my selection of case studies, although it is my aim to focus on post-apartheid society, I am aware that this experience of democracy is very much influenced by the apartheid experience that came before it, since these periods are intrinsically linked, and thus, to consider them as independent or separate would be inaccurate. Lastly, with regards to date, although I intended to work according to the date of local release, it has not always been possible to determine which date is being referred to in the relevant documentation and thus there may be some contradictions in this regard.

The third aspect that informed the selection of the films for analysis was my choice to use feature films rather than documentary or short films as the subject of study. This links my work to the *Dictionary of African Cinema*, which similarly focuses on fictional pieces (Armes 2008: 3). This decision is indicative of my concern with 'popular' or 'mainstream' commercial production, distribution and exhibition practices rather than alternative or subversive cinema. This is not to say that I do not believe such practices/styles of cinema to be of importance. On the contrary, they are an integral part of the country's national cinema (Maingard 2007: 116.). Nevertheless, the high level of national and international capital finance involved in feature film production, exhibition and distribution makes it a most interesting and dynamic site of research for a study on national representation dynamics in a competitive, globalised environment. Apart this similarity with Armes's work, this thesis does consider films that did not receive a theatrical release, provided that they were released to the public on local television and/or DVD (2008: 3). My choice to include such material, is indicative of my intention to tailor this project to suit the local context where the majority of the population find television a much more accessible platform than the cinema multiplex.

The fourth criterion relates to subject matter. Given my preoccupation with the representation of national identities in cinema, I have decided to only include works that concern life in South Africa. Therefore, films about other places that have been filmed here to advantage of the favourable production conditions of this location have been excluded (also known as 'runaway production'). Thus, like Armes who chose not to include *Raiders of the Lost Arc* (Steven Spielberg, 1981) or *The English Patient* (Anthony Minghella, 1996) in his dictionary, I have not included films that 'use Africa as a mere backdrop for non-Africa narratives' (Armes 2008: 2).

The fifth criterion concerns film finance, specifically the amount and origin of the production budget. The inclusion of such details in the criterion is based on the premise that such factors have a significant influence on the production and are closely tied to the creative development of the text. Therefore, I have attempted within the limitation of three films, to select works that represent the various financial arrangements and budget categories characteristic of the post-apartheid feature films (refer to discussions on budget

categories in the Analytical framework below). Therefore, in the database and case studies I have included films funded purely on local sources and those that have received foreign finance. Furthermore, although I have generally preferred to include films that have some degree of South African funding and creative involvement, I have not been rigid in this regard and have considered numerous co-productions, which despite having South African money, a 'local' story and South African actors, have little South African creative control (see *In My Country*, John Boorman, 2004 for example). *Blood Diamond* (Edward Zwick, 2006) is an example of a particularly difficult 'borderline case', since the film was partly filmed in South Africa, it was partly about South Africa and it received state finance through the Industrial Development Corporation. However, this is a Warner Brother's production starring Leonardo de Caprio and it features virtually no South African creative or production involvement. Thus, the decision was made not to include this film in the database since South African finance, locations and subjects, rather than being central, appear to somehow serve the interests of this big-budget Hollywood production.

The last criterion relates to the filmmakers themselves. Like Armes, I have not discriminated against filmmakers, and the 'guiding principle' in this study is that 'every filmmaker is equal, black or white, Muslim or Christian, speaking English, Afrikaans or Zulu' (4). Thus, unlike, a recent study on South African Cinema: *To Change Reels: Films and Film Culture in South Africa* (Balseiro and Masilela 2003), I have considered Afrikaans-language filmmaking in my study (Armes 2008: 6). My aim in selecting the case studies was to consider (within the tight constraints of the thesis) the work of black, white, male and female directors. However, this is not to say that I assume that a director has 'the key to a character just because both are black or that a white director or actor cannot portray black realities' (Tomaselli 2006: 105). But, within the context of a society where up until just fifteen years ago, racial and gender oppression was normalised, I felt that I needed to make a conscious decision to consider a 'diversity of voices' in this study. It is important to remember, nevertheless, that this is not the sole, most important criterion for selection. Rather, it is one of the multiple factors considered in the selection of films for analysis. In fact, given the small number of female filmmakers active in the industry, I decided not to

include a film directed by a female filmmaker as originally intended.[17] This is indicative of my aim to select films that are reflective of specific trends in the industry rather than isolated cases or abnormalities. A more detailed discussion concerning the rationale behind the selection of each case study is provided in the introduction to the chapters dedicated to their respective analysis.

2.4.3. The Discourses that Surround the Films

With regard to written discourse, Hayward identifies three discursive modalities that she suggests should be analysed in a discussion concerning national cinema. These are: historical, critical and state texts, all of which are said to have 'served to shape the nation's cinema history and to cause things to happen to films' (2005: 7). In this thesis I include a brief historical background of the apartheid and post-apartheid film industry with the aim of broadening the understanding of the dominant internal and external influences at play. However, although historical analysis is important to this study, reference to relevant academic texts is the most dominant of the listed discursive modalities. In this regard, I have applied a multidisciplinary approach to my research and analysis, reading very widely and applying theories from a number of critical disciplines.

Government documents, in particular those relating to the film industry, also represent an important resource and have been used for the collection of quantitative data and for the analysis of ideological trends. Therefore, I have included a certain amount of quantitative data in this research. This inclusion is reflective of a trend in communications research to combine 'both quantitative and qualitative methods' (Du Plooy 2002: 39). Quantitative techniques have assisted in the prediction, description and explanation of 'quantitative, degrees and relationships' (Du Plooy 2002: 82). Qualitative techniques, on the other hand, have assisted in the exploration of the post-apartheid film industry and 'to describe

[17] There are a few female directors operating in the post-apartheid industry. These include: Katinka Heyns (*Paljas*, 1998), Meganthrie Pillay (*34 South*, 2005) and Otto-Sailles (*Not without my daughter*, 2004). However, none of these films fit the aforementioned criteria since Heyns' feature is pre-2004, Pillay's feature did not receive wide distribution and Otto-Sailles's film is a feature-length documentary. It should be noted that as my analysis for the thesis was coming to a close in 2009, the film *White Wedding* by Jann Turner, a female, South African director was released. I was tempted to include this as a case study in the thesis, but decided against it since I had already conducted extensive research into the other topics that I intended on covering and I felt more confident to write about these than to embark on a new area of research.

behaviours, themes, trends, attitudes, needs or relations that are applicable to the units analysed' (Du Plooy 2002: 83). However, when designing this project, I avoided relying too heavily on quantitative data because to generate representative, reliable data myself would require extensive research, which would exceed my capabilities and my budget as an individual, student researcher. For this reason, I do not focus on audience responses in this study. However, the acquisition of quantitative data, such as recent, reliable box office data from official state and industry sources, has allowed me to make certain, careful deductions regarding audience trends and preferences. This has been complimented by data from the commercial media, where relevant newspaper and magazine articles have been valuable in the provision of a public response to local feature films.

2.5. Empirical Research

2.5.1. Introduction

In addition to theoretical research, this project also included empirical investigations. This included the organisation of a film symposium at the University of Cape Town in 2008 and the conduction of qualitative interviews with film industry professionals. The symposium was an important aspect of this project, since it incorporated collective reflection into the research design, enabling 'researchers and subjects participating in the communication research to share their perceptions and experiences, thereby contributing to social transformation and development' (Du Plooy 2002: 39). For example, all of the people whom I had interviewed were invited to attend the symposium and three of them also participated as oral presenters at the event (Mike Dearham, Ross Garland and Joy Sappieka). The proceedings of the symposium were transcribed and such information has directly informing certain discussions in this thesis (to be referred to accordingly.

2.5.2. Qualitative Interviews

The second aspect of empirical research was the qualitative interviews conducted with film industry professionals. These individuals primarily included filmmakers, but there were also representatives from relevant funding, exhibition, publicity, training and broadcast organisations (please refer to Appendix B for a list of interview profiles and schedules). The interviewees were selected carefully for their specialist knowledge in one of these industry areas. Rubin and Rubin have argued that 'all the people that you interview should satisfy three requirements. They should be knowledgeable about the cultural area, situation or experience being studied; they should be willing to talk; and they should represent a range of points of view (1995: 66). In total, I spoke to 43 individuals, which is much more than I originally anticipated. The aim was to gather data from as wide an 'interview base' as possible so that I could include a diverse range of opinions in my analysis. As Rubin and Rubin have noted, 'you should go for a balance in your choice of interviewees to represent all the divisions within that arena of study' (Rubin and Rubin 1995: 69).

I applied a qualitative interview technique, in an attempt to find out what the participants 'think about their worlds' (Rubin and Rubin 1995: 1). This research tool builds on conversational skills and is based on the establishment of a working relationship between the interviewer and the interviewee. In such an approach the researcher is said to be emotionally involved and open in interviews with the intention of gaining a similar response from interviewees (Rubin and Rubin 1995: 12). However, since I wanted to include information from a diversity of sources, I did not apply this model unreservedly. This was particularly the case in telephonic interviews, because in such cases I was less likely to form a personal relationship with the interviewee. I did, however, attempt as much as possible to have face-to-face interviews and only arranged telephonic discussions when interviewees were unable to meet me during my research trips to Johannesburg and Durban. My emphasis on personal involvement is evident in my choice to conduct all of the forty-three interviews myself without any assistance.

However, although qualitative interviewing is a well-respected widely applied technique, there are certain drawbacks. Sometimes this interview style can lead to a researcher becoming over-subjective, and thus the work loses its credibility. Therefore, while I view personal involvement as an important tool in the research process, I was conscious that I

needed to be sensitive to my own biases and to the social and intellectual baggage that I bring to the interview (Rubin and Rubin 1995: 14). Furthermore, in order to make the work academically credible, I made a conscious attempt to stick to the principles of transparency, consistency and communicability (Rubin and Rubin 1995: 85). Firstly, I attempted to minimise personal biases and to maximise consistency by applying a semi-structured approach to the interviews. My intention was to avoid criticism like that directed at Ukadike for his lack of interview structure, clarity and methodology in his book *Questioning African Cinema: Conversation with Filmmakers* (2002) (see review by Lelièvre 2002: 4). Secondly, in an attempt to maintain transparency in my research, I have clarified my interests and objectives in the introduction to the thesis so that the reader is aware of my own subjectivities in this field of research. Furthermore, I have kept original copies of all interview transcripts, which can be made accessible upon request. Copies of two representative interview transcripts are also attached to the thesis (see Appendix C and D). Moreover, in an attempt to maintain transparency and clarity, I have included a self-reflexive account of the design and application of research questions below.

2.5.3. Question Design and Application

Firstly, I started by dividing the interviewees into three main categories: (1) The first consisted of filmmakers (directors, producers and screenwriters) (2) the second contained distributors/exhibitors/broadcasters and (3) the third group included funding bodies. Subsequently, I found that more categories and related questions needed to be made, and thus I adjusted my research design accordingly. But I was expecting this, since 'doing a design is continuous in the sense that you have to redesign the work at different points in the research, adjusting the design as you go along is a normal, expected part of the qualitative research process' (Rubin and Rubin 1995: 44). Thus, this original list of categories expanded to include a (4) fourth group for training organisations, (5) a fifth group for national film offices and organisations and (6) a sixth 'miscellaneous' group which consisted of just three individuals who did not fit into the aforementioned categories. The aim behind these groups was to make the questions specific to the individual at hand, while still maintaining a degree of consistency across all interviews. I designed a set of main questions for each group. However, although these questions were divided, there were

quite a number that were consistent across all three categories, because the aim was to standardise the questions as much as possible (please refer to Appendix E for a list of interview questions). These questions were grouped into a larger group of 'general questions' that were asked across all categories.

Thus, the interviews followed a semi-structured qualitative model with each interview revolving around a set of questions taken from the pool of standard questions discussed above. These were prepared in advance under the guidance of my academic supervisor, Associate Professor Martin Botha. I attempted to create open-ended research questions that were, as far as possible, unloaded and specific to the context at hand. There were some examples, however of loaded questions that 'slipped through' (please refer to attached list of questions Appendix E). For example, number 28 might be considered a loaded question since it is based on the assumption that Hollywood dominates our local screen time. However, since this is clearly the case (and I was able to quote a figure of over 90 percent of local screen time) I was comfortable with the inherent assumption in the question. Question 6 is a further example of a loaded question, where it is inherently assumed that filmmakers experience funding difficulties. I did however try to ask this question only when interviewees had already mentioned that they had experienced such difficulties. But, in retrospect, I would say that this question might have been revised.

Another challenge I encountered in my question design was that some of the boundaries between individual questions were not distinct enough, and as a result answers tended to overlap. This made analysis difficult. This was the case in questions 31 and 32, which I had thought covered two distinct topics: improvement of audience access (Question 31) and consumption of local product (Question 32). However, the answers to these two questions were overlapping and indistinct with people discussing consumption practices when asked about access and vice versa. Therefore, I have combined the answers to these questions in analysis and have coded them according to the various themes and opinions that arose within this loose category (please refer to Appendix F for analysis of interview answers).

In addition to these standardised questions, a limited number of specific questions were also included in interviews with the purpose of extracting specific data and also to make the interview more personalised and interesting to the individual at hand. It should also be

noted that although the questions were designed according to these categories, there were also overlaps, and sometimes it was appropriate to ask an individual questions that belonged to 'other groups'. This occurred when a person had skills or experiences that transgressed the boundaries of these groups, which, in fact, is quite common in the film industry, where people have come from a diversity of backgrounds and often multi-task in order to keep active. Thus, for example, a person may be a filmmaker, but may also be a trainer or be involved in a state-funding organisation.

The standard questions were used to guide the interviews. The aim was to make them 'open enough to encourage interviewees to express their own opinions and experiences, but narrow enough to keep interviewees from wandering far from the subject at hand' (Rubin and Rubin 1995: 146) (refer to Appendix C or D for an example of an interview transcript). My research was based on 34 questions that were asked to interviewees with varying degrees of frequency (refer to Appendix G for a database illustrating which questions were asked to each individual, and which questions were asked within the defined groups). Before going to an interview, I would prepare a list of questions, taking them from the specific group and the general group. My intention was to ask as many of these questions as possible within the given time frame, but at the same time I knew that some people would provide very long answers and there was no guarantee of covering all of the outlined questions in a given interview. Moreover, since I was applying a semi-structured approach, it was not my intention to fire the questions at the interviewee regardless of their answers. On the contrary, I was flexible and responded to their answers.

I would often commence interviews by asking the individual about their professional background. This was particularly the case with filmmakers. I chose to do this because I wanted them to feel at ease and to start by speaking about something that they knew intimately. The order of the proceeding questions sometimes followed the list that I had prepared in advance, but often changed according to how the interviewee responded to the individual questions. I did not want to jump around from one topic to the next – the aim was to make it as natural and comfortable as possible. The only problem that I encountered with this initially was that sometimes I would lose track of which questions had been answered and had to read through the list myself to double check. I did not like this because

it drew attention to the paper and interrupted the natural flow that I was trying to create. Therefore, after my first field trip I adjusted the interview sheets to include tick boxes next to each question so that I could discreetly mark them off as we went along (please refer to Appendix H for an example of one of these tick sheets). However, this did not mean that I answered every question in each interview. In fact, the questions answered varied considerably because it depended on how much time an individual took to answer each question and the content of their answers. For example, sometimes they would answer many questions in one, and then it would be pointless for me to ask the same thing again. Sometimes the interviewee would spend half of the allocated time answering one question and would share unexpected data. In these cases we would often run out of time and I would have to skip out questions and just ask the ones that seemed most pertinent.

Therefore, the questions prepared in advance were not asked regardless of interviewee's answers. On the contrary, questions flowed out of the interviewee's answers and similar to a conversation, the interviewee became an active participant in the research process (Rubin and Rubin 1995: 7). This was intended to empower the interviewee and grant them agency since unlike survey interviews, interviewees in qualitative research are treated as partners rather than as objects of research (Rubin and Rubin 1995: 10). Thus, they are given the opportunity to elaborate and 'share in the work of the interview sometimes guiding in channels of their choosing (Ibid.). A final choice behind my choice to use qualitative interviews is my desire to create new knowledge. If I enter the field with a set list of theories and answers which I try to prove regardless of the research experience, I will learn nothing and the resultant information will be old. I believe that although it is important to be prepared, a flexible approach is much more dynamic and allows for the creation and analysis of new theories and ideas.

2.5.4. Empirical Work and Ethical Concerns

With regards to ethics, interviews were conducted in private, in a place and time that did not interfere with the individual's work. In all interviews, I first asked the interviewee's permission to conduct the interview, and in face-to-face interviews I asked them to sign a consent form (please refer to Appendix I). I also asked all individuals permission to record before switching on the tape recorder. I preferred to use this device since I find it to be less

distracting than taking notes. Once all of the interviews were complete (with the exception of some very late, unexpected interviews with filmmakers that I met) they were transcribed and emailed to participants so that they could check that they were happy with the quality of the transcription and with what had been recorded (please see Appendix J for the Background Information sent to participants). Interviewees were given the opportunity to make changes to their statements (although I asked them to make such changes visible by using Track changes or by writing in a different colour font). I adopted this approach for a number of reasons: (1) Firstly, because I wanted to make the interview process as transparent as possible and did not want interviewees to feel like I was trying to catch them out, (2) secondly, I thought that it would be a good way to check the accuracy of the recording, and (3) thirdly, I wanted to develop a relationship with interviewees that would encourage them to feel like active participants in this knowledge generation, where their opinions and knowledge (are valued and included in the work presented.

2.6. Analytical Framework

2.6.1. Introduction

The following section serves to explain the analytical framework applied in this thesis. It provides an introduction to the strategies employed in analysis of the film industry as a whole, and specific case studies. I commence by looking at the post-apartheid industry in relation to Hollywood cinema, using the writings of Croft (2006) as a guide. I then move on to discussions concerning the application of budget categories within my thesis firstly, as way to record, categorise and understand wider budget and representational trends within the film industry and secondly, to assist in the analysis of the dynamics of production finance in specific films. This leads to the second part of the framework, which focuses on the analysis of the individual case studies. In this regard, I have applied two levels of analysis. Firstly, there is the production context, where budget categories are introduced and considered. Secondly, there is the textual analysis, where a critical analysis of the text itself is provided and the aesthetics, narrative structure and content of the production are considered in relation to the production context, wider socio-political factors, post-apartheid industry trends, global cinematic distribution and consumption, the vision of the filmmaker and questions of agency, representation and truth.

2.6.2. Industry Analysis: Post-apartheid Cinema and Hollywood

In terms of my analysis of the post-apartheid industry, I have been influenced by the writings of Stephen Croft, who argues that local film industries need to be considered in relation to the transnational reach of Hollywood because in a context of 'unequal cultural and economic exchange, many national cinema producers have to operate in terms of an agenda set by Hollywood' (2006: 44). However, this analysis has been conducted with caution, because, as discussed above, the binary between inside/outside is problematic: (1) firstly, because it fails to recognise the co-dependence of Africa and Europe (Harrow 2007: 20), and (2) secondly, since it can unwittingly sanction 'the American way of looking at the world, according to which Hollywood is the centre and all other cinemas are the periphery' (Nagib 2006: 30). Thus, one has to guard against the perpetuations of this binary in cinematic analysis. However, to ignore the decisive role that 'outsiders' (including Hollywood) have played in the formation of local culture would also be problematic (Harrow 2007: 198). Moreover, to 'play down' the influence of Hollywood in local cinema would contradict my intention to embrace the hybrid in analysis and to acknowledge (rather than judge) the many national and global influences on representation in post-apartheid cinema. Thus, I do consider the role of Hollywood in the industry's development. Nevertheless, I am also careful to consider other factors in analysis, in particular the local 'political economic and cultural regime' (Harrow 2007: 44-45).

2.6.3. Film finance and Budget Categories

In the Theoretical Background above, I drew on writings by Luis Althusser (1971) to illustrate the weight of economic factors in cultural production. Such factors are most relevant to film since it is such a capital-dependent art form. Thus, in my analysis of the industry, I consider production finance trends, not only in terms of the source of funding, but also in terms of the amount spent in production. In doing so I have devised 'budget categories' because production budgets are often confidential and I needed a way to encourage filmmakers to share this data with me. However, of the 71 films produced between 1994 and 2008 (see Appendix A), I could only ascertain budget categories for 42 of them (approximately 59%). This is indicative of difficulties that I encountered when

attempting to extract this 'delicate' information from filmmakers. Nevertheless, such data seemed substantial enough to analyse industry trends and thus it has been used to collate a separate spreadsheet (refer to Appendix K), which has informed the analysis of budget category trends in the film industry (see Chapter Four). The following six categories were developed in consultation with filmmaker Ross Garland and Associate Professor Martin Botha

1) R0 to 1 million
2) R1 to 3 million
3) R3 to 9 million
4) R10 to 20 million
5) R20 to R50 million
6) R50 million +

My approach to budget categories is partly inspired by McLoone's (2006) discussions on Irish cinema. However, the categories I use differ to McLoone's since they are devised to reflect typical South African, rather than Irish, budget trends. For example, while McLoone speaks about three general budget groups (small, medium and big), I refer to six categories that are defined by exact monetary amounts, some of these, however, are *very* small when compared to international budgets (Category One for example). Nevertheless, I believe that in this context, where film finance is an issue for many, and low budgets productions are common, it is important to consider such trends in analysis. McLoone uses these budget categories to illustrate a number of production budget trends in the Irish industry (McLoone 2006: 92-94) Similarly, in this study, I use these budget categories to illustrate wider production trends and also consider them in relation to specific case studies where I consider the economic factors of production. Here I look specifically at sources of finance and the production budget of each film, investigating how these conditions influence: who is involved, the type of restraints/and or conditions in place and the representational dynamics of each production.

2.6.4. Analysis of Case Studies

In my analysis of the case studies, I work on two different levels: (1) a contextual level where I consider the wider 'national' forces and the production context of the film (2) and a textual level, where I analyse the text itself in detail. It should be noted, however, that these two levels of analysis are not rigidly separated since they are often related, interdependent and overlapping. In the first level of analysis, I reflect on the relationship between the making of this specific film and the wider historical context of the country, focusing specifically on how this production relates to dominant production trends, practices and ideologies. I then move on to the production details of this particular film, including the financial details discussed above, and other factors such as the intended market, and exhibition, broadcast, distribution arrangements. The emphasis on such processes is indicative of my interest in focusing on the surface rather than searching for deep, or true essential truths in post-apartheid cinema. This emphasis shifts the focus away from a search for authenticity and highlights rather hierarchies of power in cinema production. However, it should be noted, that although I believe that this contextual information can provide significant insight into the films under analysis, I do not assume that the *full* meaning of such texts is revealed as a result (Harrow 2007: 120). In fact, I view such understandings as subjective, inherently *partial* - committed and incomplete (Clifford and Marcus 1986: 7).

The second level of analysis highlights the texts themselves, in which subject matter, genre, language, main themes, characterisation and cinematic codes and aesthetic conventions are examined. It should be noted, however, that in such discussions, rather than searching for a fixed 'set of symbols' through which to understand such films, and the dynamics of representation therein, I adopt a somewhat 'fluid' approach since it is assumed that all cinema is open to interpretation and meaning in cinema is both relative and multiple:

> Different people, communities and societies have different beliefs, experiences and ways of making sense of, and interacting with, the world. There is no single rationality. There is no single normativity. There is no single worldview. There is no single expanded cinema. All cinemas are expanded, as meaning is a text created by viewers, from all kinds of messages. The messages might be closed, open, or in between, but the meanings made of them are always read by the receivers in terms of their own specific frames of reference, histories and experiences. (Tomaselli 2006: 22)

The subject matter is the first aspect (on the level of textual analysis) to be examined. In this regard, I am influenced by Jacqueline Maingard's approach to analysing national representation in documentary film. Maingard recommends that one considers two structural concerns in this regard, namely: (1) the 'speaking subject' and (2) the 'voice of the filmmaker' (2003: 117). In terms of the first structural concern, I consider literally who the film is about, and just as importantly, whom it is not about (Ibid.). Here the discussion regarding dominant temporalities is relevant (Harrow 2007: 9), because I note whose temporarility has been normalised and whose has been underplayed or ignored. Furthermore, in looking at the narrative, or content of the film, I refer to Hayward, who argues that while filmic narration, 'calls upon the available discourses and myths of its own culture', it is 'evident that these cultural discourses and myths are not pure and simple reflections of history, but a transformation of history. Thus, they work to construct a specific way of perceiving the nation (Harrow 2007: 15). Therefore, in this study I analyse how concepts of the national are mediated to the public through the specific filmic narratives under study, and discuss how such mediations relate to the dominant temporarility or authority of the state.

With regards to the second structural concern, I consider how this world has been re-presented by the filmmaker, scrutinising to what extent the subject is ascribed agency in the text. Through an analysis of specific filmic elements such as characterisation, and the words of the screenplay itself, I question whether the filmmaker has allowed the subject's voice to be heard, not only in the 'words that the subject says,' but also within the 'workings of the text itself' (Ibid.). Thus, in terms of the 'speaking subject', I look at how subjects have been represented, and whether the identity imposed on them has attempted to pin them to esentialised meanings, such as racial or gender stereotypes, or whether such characters reflect the diverse, multiple and subjective discourses that a person traverses in their lifetime (Willeman 2006: 31). The voice of the filmmaker, also refers to the 'film's social statement' and the ideological position that the filmmaker has adopted (Maingard 2003: 15). It should be noted, however, that in this study this 'voice' is not approached as a singular entity, because as explained in the conceptual framework, film production is understood to be an interactive process, involving multiple individuals and organisations. Therefore, although the concept of the 'voice of the filmmaker' is adopted in this analysis,

this is not to say that I believe that a filmmaker has complete control over the film produced. On the contrary, the authorship of feature films is seen to be multiple and complex (Cook 2007 285-243)

In terms of genre, I analyse how and why subjects have been framed within a particular genre and discuss the ways in which this relates to dominant national and global trends and to the production context of the film. Moreover, I look at the implications of this choice of genre, particularly in terms of how this has influenced the representation of the subject on screen. The third concern, language, is most important for discussions on national representation in post-apartheid South Africa, where so much political emphasis has been placed on multilingualism. Thus, the choice of language will be considered in relation this political emphasis and the production context of the film. Characterisation is a fifth key concern. Here I analyse the ways in which main and peripheral characters are developed in the film and compare such to prevailing national and international representations and stereotypes. Lastly, when it comes to cinematic codes and aesthetic conventions I consider key aspects such as camera style, *mise én scene*, and narrative structure. These aspects are discussed in relation to the vision of the filmmaker with the aim of understanding how they are influenced and adapted to suit their production contexts. Narrative structure, receives significant emphasis in analysis. Here I consider the significance of this cinematic choice in relation to the production context of the film and dominant trends, in particular the classic, restorative structure of Hollywood.[18]

2.7. Analysis of Interview Data

2.7.1. Introduction

[18] The restorative structure is a specific variant of the three-act structure. It is derived from the 'well-made play' developed by the French playwright Eugene Scribe in the 1820's, and later became the dominant model for mainstream screenplays (Dancyger and Rush 2002: 17). This conservative structure is characterized by a 'clear and logical denouement' and the story is focused on a central protagonist. Each story is divided into three acts, with a first act introducing a 'conflict involving a dilemma of normative morality, a second act propelled by the hero's false resolution of this dilemma, and a third act in which the dilemma is resolved once and for all by an act that reaffirms normative morality' (Lindley 2004: 189). Dancyger and Rush explain that by 'requiring a return to complete order, the well-made play [or restorative structure] allows us to act out our fantasies of breaking rules, without in any way threatening the structural framework of society' hence the name, 'restorative three-act structure' (2002: 18).

As mentioned previously, each interview recording was transcribed and sent to interviewees for verification. Once feedback was received and this process was complete, these documents were coded in preparation for content analysis. My main aim behind this coding and analysis was to ensure that it was as systematic, objective and unbiased as possible (Du Plooy 2001: 192). Therefore, I decided to use the questions themselves as the main units of analysis. Such units are known as 'propositional units' (Du Plooy 2001: 191). Within these propositional units I identified further units of analysis including thematic units such as repeated patterns of propositions or ideas related to pertinent issues (Ibid.). I decided to present this data in a table format, to allow for easy reading and analysis and have attached all of these tables to the thesis in Appendix G for the readers' convenience.

I followed Du Plooy's suggestion of quantifying the content of the analysis, and therefore, I calculated numerical values to calculate the frequency of related answers to specific questions or of themes within those answers (Ibid.). I used counting for questions that had 'nominal' categories such as 'positive/negative' or 'yes/no'. However in doing so I found that there were sometimes neutral or grey areas that needed to be accounted for, therefore, I applied a system of scaling to analyse many of the answers. Du Plooy argues that the advantage of this approach is that the 'intensity and valence of each category can be coded' (195). It was important nevertheless, that such categories were closely related to the answers rather than being imposed on them. Therefore, I would not automatically write 'yes/neutral/no' or 'positive/negative', regardless of the response, but would tailor the categories to suit the responses such as 'neutral/trends/critical' (see Question 13) or 'yes it does/neutral/no it doesn't' (see Question 26) for example below.

Example: Question 26:
Do you believe that the funding that a film receives has an impact on the nature of the final product? (14 people answered, 15 responses)

Category	COMMENTS	Answers by Group						**Total**	
		1	2	3	4	5	6	*N*	%
Yes, it does	Usually it does	5	1					**11**	**73**
	Creative/story/casting decisions are influenced by where the money is coming from (1)	1							
	Government film policies influence the kind of films	2							

	that are made								
	Finances interfere with the director's vision	2							
Neutral	A big budget does not guarantee a good film	1	1					**3**	**20**
	There are also lots of other elements involved	1							
No, it doesn't	It is the other way around. The type of film determines the available finance						1	**1**	**7**
Total:								**14**	**100**

Table 1: Impact of Funding

Above, I have provided an example of the table for Question 26. As one can see, the table is preceded by the related question. The first column contains the answer category, which assists in the counting and/or scaling of the related answers. The next column contains the actual answers, or if a similar answer has been given multiple times, this category contains the 'theme' within such answers. The inclusion of these answers/themes is indicative of my intention to allow space for the individual's voices amidst all the 'clinical' numbers, scales and percentages of the table. In group related questions (numbers 1 to 3), I have simply put the number of answers next to the answer in brackets (see Question 16 for example). However, in the example below, I have divided the answers according to the interviewee's 'group'. The purpose of this is to allow myself and the reader to identify trends within group answers. The fourth column is divided in two, with the total number and total percentages of specific answers being tallied accordingly.

The answers provided in qualitative interviews, and my analysis thereof, are integrated into the thesis as a whole, and specifically informs Chapters Four and Five, which are about the post-apartheid film industry, and Chapters Six, Seven and Eight, which provide analysis of specific case studies. The analysis of the interview data is an important aspect of this thesis and is reflective of my intention to consult the film industry directly in this study of post-apartheid cinema.

Chapter Three: Historical Overview of Cinematic Development under Apartheid

3.1. Chapter Overview

This chapter serves to provide an overview of the film industry prior to democracy and thus can be viewed as a historical introduction to the subsequent chapter on the contemporary film industry.

3.2. Historical Overview (1910 – 1994)

In order to contextualise this discussion on post-apartheid cinema, it is important to consider the historical origins of the South African industry.[19] Masilela, advocates this consciousness of precedent arguing that 'making sense of the country's film culture requires an awareness of the intellectual movements that informed its early reception and practice' (2003: 15). South Africa has one of the oldest film industries in the world, with the kinetoscope, invented by Thomas Edison, reaching Johannesburg in 1895, 'only six years after its introduction in New York' (Botha 2006: 1). From the beginning, outside forces have influenced the industry, with British and American films being circulated in the country by means of mobile bioscopes between 1895 and 1909 and British cameramen shooting the first footage during the Anglo-Boer of 1899-1902 (Ibid.). Furthermore, by 1913, New York-born Isodore W. Schlesinger controlled all film distributors through his company, African Films (Ibid.).

This monopolisation of exhibition and distribution structures is a distinctive feature of the South African film industry. In fact, Schlesinger's monopoly dominated for the next forty-

[19] Please refer to other relevant academic texts including Keyan Tomaselli' s *The Cinema of Apartheid: Race and Class in South African Film* (1988), Thelma Gutsche's *The History and Social Significance of Motion Pictures in South Africa (1845-1940)* (1972), Johan Blignaut and Martin Botha's *Movies Moguls Mavericks: South African Cinema 1979-1991* (1992), Martin Botha's edited volume, *Marginal Lives and Painful Pasts: South African Cinema After Apartheid* (2007), Jacqueline Maingard's *South African National Cinema* (2007), André Le Roux and Lila Fourie's *Filmverlede: Geskiedenis van die Suid-Afrikaanse speelfilm* (1982), Peter Davis's *In Darkest Hollywood: Exploring the Jungles of Cinema's South Africa* (1996), Martin Botha and Adri van Aswegen's *Images of South Africa: The Rise of the Alternative Film* (1992), Tomaselli's *Encountering Modernity: Twentieth Century South African Cinemas* (2006) and Isabel Balseiro and Ntongela Masilela's edited volume, *To Change Reels: Film and Film Culture in South Africa* (2003).

three years, with his control extending from production (African Film Production), to distribution (African Consolidated Films) and exhibition (African Consolidated Theatres) by 1930 (Tomaselli and Shepperson 2002: 65). These foreign influences in the industry's development are reflective of similar forces present in the country at large, since South African cinema was originally framed within a society divided between two British colonies and two independent Afrikaans republics (Balseiro and Masilela 2003: 1). Post-1948, cinema was used as a propaganda tool to normalise the racist Afrikaner regime that was formalised as apartheid. In this environment, the voices of the indigenous black African people were seldom included.

There was, however, the New Africa Movement, which 'emerged a few years after the Anglo-Boer War' (Masilela 2003: 15). The ideas of this movement were first 'theorized and articulated in the newspaper *Umteteli wa Bantu* (The Mouthpiece of the Native Peoples). In this newspaper, the work of Solomon T. Plaatje (1876–1932) is mentioned. Plaatje was a founding member of the New African Movement, and is recognised to be the first African intellectual to seriously engage with film culture (Ibid).[20] He hosted public screenings of documentaries about the achievements of the New Negros in the United States, since he believed that 'there were profound affinities between the process through which the New Negro intervened in the construction of US modernity and the means by which the New African should participate in the newly emergent South African modernity (Balseiro and Masilela 2003: 18). Plaatje's 'bioscope' activities followed three trips that he made abroad as a representative of the South African Native National Congress (SANNC). These trips took place in 1914 to 1917 (mostly to Britain), 1919 to 1920 (England), and 1923 (the US) respectively (Balseiro and Masilela 2003: 19).[21] Upon his return, Plaatje travelled around South Africa for several years, screening documentary films that showed 'what the New Negroes had achieved and were achieving, especially in the realm of education' (Ibid.). Plaatje combined these pedagogical films with 'others that were for entertainment', and screened these to predominantly black audiences (Balseiro and Masilela 2003: 20).

[20] Masilela notes that in addition to Plaatje, stalwarts of the New African Movement included Jordan Ngubane, R.V. Selope Thema, Allan Kirkland Soga, H.I.E. Dhlomo, Gerard Sekoto and Rueben Caluza (2003: 15).

[21] SANNC was formed in 1912 and in 1932 it was renamed the African National Congress (ANC). Plaatje was a founding member of this political organisation.

Unfortunately, Plaatje's project was doomed, since concurrently, the American Mission Board, led by Dr. F.B. Bridgman and Reverend Ray Phillips, was introducing films to black mine workers (Balseiro and Masilela 2003: 20). However, unlike the films shown by Plaatje, these films served as instruments to enforce white supremacy (Ibid.). Furthermore, Bridgman and Phillips spoke out against the showing of certain American films to African people (which, of course, had implications for Plaatje's progressive cinema). They saw film as a mechanism to control African people and wanted to ensure that African people only 'saw the good side' of European civilisation so that 'Africans would admit and submit to its superiority' (Ibid.). Masilela explains that although Bridgman and Phillips cannot be 'held directly responsible for the widespread feeling in white government circles that film was corrupting the African' (Ibid.). Their 'preoccupation with policing the African imagination sowed the seeds of distrust and fear' (Ibid.). Therefore, although Plaatje made an important contribution to South African cinema history through his 'bioscope', and his work served as an important inspiration to fellow black activists (including H.I.E Dhlomo and Bloke Modisane), his efforts were met with resistance from an oppressive state that was determined to control the lives and imaginations of black South Africans.

Thus, the beginnings of film culture in South Africa are marked by a high degree of state domination and control. For example, in 1931, the Entertainments (Censorship) Act No. 29 was created. This led to the appointment of the 'Board of Censors', which was responsible for the clearing of all filmic material before it was open to public exhibition. The board rejected any film that was seen to depict 'any matter that prejudicially affects the safety of the State, or is calculated to disturb peace or good order, or prejudice the general welfare or be offensive to decency' (Film and Publication Board 2008: online resource). Pillay and Ntuli note that racist policy was enforced through strict censorship that included ranking 'films according to race and 'moral' acceptability' (2004: 12). This resulted in black South Africans not being viewed as 'real consumers' and made the state unwilling to invest in this 'non-audience'.

> It can be concluded that the real commercial potential of the true mainstream audience was arrested and remains in a state of gross underdevelopment. Nowhere else in the world has such a willful neglect and warped business

> principles been applied to the exhibition of motion pictures, with the net effect of cinema becoming a past time of the privileged. (Pillay and Ntuli 2004: 18)

In 1948, the National Party came into power and introduced the racist system of apartheid through a series of 'legislative acts that legalized and formalized the racial segregation that already existed and reduced blacks to the status of legal minors, citizens, not of the nation but of the government-mandated residential 'homelands''(McCluskey 2009: 5). Thus, apartheid forcibly divided the population into different geographic regions according to a their 'racial category' (Black, Indian, Coloured or White). As mentioned in the introduction to this thesis, the more-developed areas, including the major cities, were reserved for whites, while 'black,' Indian and 'Coloured' people were effectively barred from entering such areas without legal consent. This effectively resulted in the majority of the population being alienated from cinema and consequently, cinema audiences are divided and an inclusive national cinema culture has failed to develop. This remains a major obstacle threatening the sustainability of the post-apartheid film industry.

In 1956, a regulated subsidy system supported by the Nationalist government and large corporations was introduced. This system manipulated local filmmaking in favour of racist Afrikaans nationalist ideals. During this time, the white Afrikaans audience developed and became relatively stable. This audience practically guaranteed the success of films that provided light, escapist entertainment and an idealistic portrayal of the Afrikaner way of life (McCluskey 2009: 24). However, the rejection of apartheid by the international community was growing and by 1959 at a meeting of South African exiles and their supporters in London, the *Boycott Movement* (later known as the Anti-Apartheid Movement) was officially formed. This marked the beginning of international sanctions against apartheid. Ironically, despite this movement, the US became increasingly involved in the South African industry. For example, in 1956 Hollywood's Twentieth Century Fox bought Isodore W. Schlesinger's empire and between 1956 and 1969 Fox 'controlled more than three-quarters of the South African film distribution network' (Botha 2007: 23).

In 1961, South Africa became a republic and officially broke ties with Britain. However, rather than reforming its racist ways, it continued with the apartheid regime. In fact, by 1963 the film industry became even more controlled by apartheid ideology with the

introduction of the Publications Control Board, which controlled the circulation of all filmic material (while the 1931 Act was focused only on imported content). This board effectively rejected any product that was seen to be 'undesirable' by the Apartheid government. This had a major impact on the diversity of films available to the public.

In 1969, the Afrikaner Corporation Sanlam (SA National Life Insurance Mutual) formed Satbel (*Suid Afrikanse Teaterbelange beperk* – South African Theatre Interests Ltd.). Satbel made two important acquisitions, namely Ster Films and Kinekor (they purchased Fox's operations and renamed them) (Tomaselli and Shepperson 2002: 65). At this stage, Satbel controlled 76 percent of South Africa's distribution network, the other 24 percent being controlled by Universal International Pictures-Warner (Botha 2007: 23). Thus, through Satbel, white Afrikaner capital became the major player in the industry with the 'explicit intention of providing cinema to predominantly white Afrikaner patrons' (Ibid.). The financing and distribution of films in South Africa had been effectively transferred to the hands of one large company, with the exception of the few cinemas owned by Cinema International Corporation (CIC –Warner). Tomaselli and Shepperson explain that 'Sanlam and Satbel eventually controlled a horizontal monopoly covering production, distribution, exhibition, studio property, publicity, booking and just about every imaginable facet of cinema' (2002: 65). In 1979, the two cinema divisions of Satbel, Ster and Kinekor amalgamated to form Ster-Kinekor and operated under agreement to distribute products from major US studios including Fox, Orion, Disney and Avco-Embassy as well as the British Rank and Anglo-EMI (Tomaselli and Shepperson 2002: 66). The other major international force, CIC-Warner had aligned with the American UIP-Warner group. This group, together with the South African Film Trust, had part-ownership of the Cintrust distribution network that had contracts with major studios from the US including: Paramount, CIC Warner and Universal.

The 1970's saw further fragmentation in the national industry when the 'Bantu film industry' was created. This industry was responsible for the creation of films of an inferior quality and made in indigenous black languages targeted at black audiences. These films were screened in churches, schools and beer halls (South African History Online 2008: online resource). In 1987, the Nu Metro Cinema Group was established and since this time Ster-Kinekor, Nu Metro and UIP have owned the majority of cinemas in South Africa and

have controlled the national distribution and exhibition of film. These companies almost exclusively favour Hollywood and/or European films that are accompanied by slick and well-funded marketing campaigns and almost guarantee a good profit.

Independent cinema houses, particularly those catering for the black and Indian communities have felt the impact of these monopolies. For example, Shami Young worked as an independent cinema operator and distributor for over 25 years (1960's to the 1980's). In an interview, Young provides some insight into his experience obtaining products from Ster-Kinekor and Nu Metro:

> To say – they were absolutely brutal with us, is an understatement … the main tactic they used was to withhold product. We couldn't get pictures in any less than a year after release, and the terms were criminal … in the end we were forced out of business. (Pillay and Ntuli 2004: 12)

Young goes on to explain that by the mid-1980's, in the Cape Town area alone, more than twenty-two black-owned independent cinemas were forced out of business (Pillay and Ntuli 2004: 12-13). Thus, he argues that these monopolies have 'killed a whole culture of cinema in this country' (Ibid.). However, in the late 1970's and early 1980's a group of video producers and directors 'that were not affiliated to the established film companies in the mainstream industry' started to make films about the 'socio-political realities of the majority of South Africans' (Botha 2007: 20). The years 1987-1997 are distinguished as a turning point in the industry when 'several feature films began to critically examine the South African mileau, as well as Apartheid and colonial history (Botha 2007: 31) Examples of films include *Jock of the Bushveld* (1986), *A Place of Weeping* (1986) and *Saturday Night at the Palace* (1987). This period marks the beginning of the transition from apartheid to democracy and paves the way for South African filmmakers, post-apartheid.

Chapter Four: The Post-apartheid Film Industry

4.1. Chapter Overview

In a recent article on transnationalism in the post-apartheid film industry, Peter Flanery asks the following pertinent question: 'In more than a century of production why has South African film failed to come of age? Why are its products so often either aesthetic, narrative, critical or commercial failures, both within South Africa and in the global marketplace and mediascape?' (2009: 239). In the following chapter, I explore this apparent failure, and in the process, provide an overview of key issues pertaining to the development of the post-apartheid film industry, detailing relevant national policies as well as existing and emerging finance, distribution and exhibition structures. The aim is to examine how such polices and economic structures intersect with the cultural side of filmmaking, in particular the National Constitution's (1996) vision of free expression, equality and multiculturalism.

As discussed in the methodological introduction of Chapter Two, this text is multilayered and comprises many voices, including feedback from qualitative interviews, results from quantitative data analyses and academic, state and popular media publications. While this multi-vocal approach may contribute towards a reader's understanding of the collaborative nature of field research (Clifford 1988: 50), since I, as the author, have chosen and staged such 'voices,' the information presented here is influenced by my background and intentions and is thus necessarily inherently *partial* - committed and incomplete (Clifford and Marcus 1986: 7). This partiality is especially evident in a study of this kind, which is attempting to capture, in the finite form of the written word, the multi-layered, dynamic and often contradictory world of filmmaking. Thus, it is important to note that while every effort has been made to provide data that is as current and complete as possible, with new information even being considered at the time of writing, what is presented here are key trends and influences rather than a complete, all-encompassing, 'true' reflection of the post-apartheid film industry.

In this chapter, I consider the influence of the globally pervasive Hollywood film industry. However, the analysis presented is far from binary, since the film industries of the

developing countries, Brazil, Nigeria and Argentina are also referenced in this discussion. Specific emphasis is placed on the Brazilian film industry since South Africa and Brazil are officially linked through the trilateral, developmental initiative of IBSA (India Brazil, South Africa).[22] Furthermore, Brazil has a comparable history of colonialism, racial segregation and multiculturalism and has experienced the cultural and economic results of being a 'developing nation' in the competitive, global marketplace.

4.2. Post-apartheid Film Industry

4.2.1. Introduction

The above quote by Flanery on the post-apartheid industry failure requires certain qualification. Firstly, it is important to note that although the local film industry might be perceived as a failure, the same could not be said for the highly successful local commercials industry or the 'service' side of the industry, which provides logistical and technical support for 'runaway' productions and earns in excess of R2.2 billion per annum (Silinda 2008: 25).[23] South Africa has become an attractive location for foreign productions due to the country's (1) stable, warm climate, (2) physical and legal infrastructure, (3) production and post-production facilities, (4) skilled cast and crew and (5) its relatively weak national currency has resulted in it costing '20 percent less than Australia to make a film' (Department of Trade and Industry 2004: online resource). The success of this sector has encouraged the state to invest in industry infrastructure to stimulate growth and increase the competitiveness of the industry. This infrastructure and relevant state incentives have assisted the production of local films.

Secondly, although the financial success of local films is indeed a challenge with the performance of such films at the local box office being so poor that, according to the NFVF,

[22] This partnership was formalised with the 'Brasilia Declaration' of 2003, and is designed to 'promote South-South cooperation and exchange' (Intellectual Network for the South nd: online resource).

[23] The economic success of the service industry is evident in the state decision to prioritise the film industry under the Accelerated and Shared Growth Initiative (ASGI)(DTI 2005:4). Film was incorporated into the national ASGI because it is classified as a priority sector, a sector that accounts 'for over 22 percent of the Gross Domestic Product, employ[s] 23 percent of South Africa's total employment and contribute[s] to over 47 percent to South Africa's foreign exchange earnings (Ibid.).

'50 percent of the feature films produced in the period 2000-2007 failed to recoup 10 percent of the production cost at the local box office' (2008a**:** 25), this sector of the industry has still seen some promising results at international film festivals. Examples of some significant awards include a Grand Prix at Vues d'Afrique, Montreal for *Chiken Biznis – the Whole Story* (Wa Luruli, 1998), the nomination of an Oscar for Best Foreign Feature for *Yesterday* (Roodt, 2004), an Etalon de Yennenga at FESPACO for *Drum* (Maseko, 2004), a special award at the Locarno Film Festival for *Forgiveness* (Gabriel, 2004), a Golden Bear at the Berlin Festival for *UCarmen eKhayelitsha* (Dornford-May, 2005) and the 'cherry on top', an Oscar for Best Foreign Language Film for *Tsotsi* (Hood, 2006). Thus, if one defines 'success' as the receipt of prestigious awards at international film festivals, then the 'South African film industry since the end of apartheid in 1994' might be described as 'flourishing' (Dovey 2007: 144).

Thirdly, if one analyses box office sales over time (refer to Table 2), it is evident that although local films have indeed struggled financially, ticket sales are improving, with 2008 being the most profitable of all years (1994-2008).[24]

Year	Local Box Office:
1994	8,223,619.00
1995	2,009,491.00
1996	16,362,292.00
1997	2,524,857.00
1998	3,549,494.00
1999	11,981,786.00
2000	0.00
2001	33,167,556.00
2002	348,432.00
2003	2,362,060.00
2004	25,984,554.00
2005	31,915,766.00
2006	15,424,709.00

[24] Ster Kinekor provided the box office estimates listed in this table. However, while this data illustrates local box office rates over time, it fails to account for variations in ticket prices. This is an important factor since prices are dependent on inflation levels and the geographic location of theatres. For example, currently, Ster Kinekor has tickets for R35.00 at the Junction theatres, which are located in the in the less affluent neighbourhoods, while tickets at the theatres in the richer areas: Classic and Nouveau theatres, cost R65.00 and R49.00 respectively. Unfortunately, reliable data is currently unavailable to include this variable in analysis. However, if possible, I recommended that it be incorporated into future industry analyses.

2007	3,943,241.95
2008	46,149,064.00

Table 2: Box Office by Annum

This improved box office can be linked to the success of local features: *Bakgat* (Pretorius, 2008), *Mr. Bones 2: Back From the Past* (Hofmeyr, 2008) and *Jerusalema* (Ziman, 2008). Although it is not possible to do a retrospective analysis of the production figures of 2009 at this point, the high number of productions to date (twelve films compared to a national average of seven), and the exceptional success of films *White Wedding* (Turner, 2009) and *District 9* (Blomkamp, 2009) indicate that this is likely to be a bumper year for the local industry. For example, *White Wedding*, a romantic comedy about multicultural life in post-apartheid South Africa, grossed over R1.1million on its opening weekend at the local box office (South Africa 2009: online resource), selling 'three times more tickets than the hit gangster movie *Jerusalema* (Ziman, 2008) did on its opening weekend, and twice as many tickets as Academy Award Winner *Tsotsi*' (White Wedding 2009: online resource). *District Nine*, on the other hand, 'has already earned over $100 million at North American theaters' (Filmmaker South Africa 2009a: online resource), and has done exceptionally well on international and local circuits having 'raced to the number one position at the South African Box-Office … [and] exceeded the opening weekend of previous local successes, such as *Tsotsi* and *White Wedding'* (Filmmaker South Africa 2009b: online resource). Nevertheless, despite these recent successes, the economic viability, cultural diversity and racial inequality of the film industry remains a site of public concern. In the following discussion, I analyse how such issues are being addressed by the post-apartheid state.

4.3. State Support in the Post-apartheid Film Industry

In the United Nations Development Report of 2004 (UNDP), films, like other cultural products, are understood to be 'experience goods' since a consumer does not know whether they like a product until after they have watched/experienced it (2004: 97). Therefore, the UN argues that 'large economies and large industries with access to large financial resources' are always at an advantage in these industries since they have a 'greater command over resources for marketing and distribution' (Ibid.). Consequently, the UN

advocates public support for film industries because films 'convey ideas, symbols and lifestyle,' and are an 'intrinsic part of the identity of the community that produces them' (Ibid.). However, if such 'cultural products and creative activities, are left to the market, they might wither and diversity could decline' (Ibid.). Likewise, Falicov argues, in relation to Argentinean cinema, that state support should function in national film industries to 'sustain the separation between issues of 'national culture' and the 'market' because, 'national culture should not have to follow the logic of the marketplace' (2006:6).

In post-apartheid South Africa, cinema is valued by the state as a tool for both cultural and economic/industrial development. However, as Falicov notes, cultural and industrial concerns are not always complimentary and like Argentinean film policy,[25] South African policy can be seen to emphasise one of these understandings over the other at different points in time, depending on the politico-economic position of the state (2006: 5). For example, in an insightful presentation on the economic workings of the South African film industry, Mike Dearham, current Head of M-Net's African Film Library,[26] argued that the state currently prioritises the economic value of the industry over its cultural value (2008: oral presentation). Dearham also noted that the division between these two understandings (artistic/cultural versus industrial/economic) of the film industry is apparent in the polarisation between The Department of Arts and Culture (DAC), which is responsible for cultural processes of production, and the Department of Trade and Industry (DTI), which is accountable for the economic processes of distribution (Ibid).

[25] Between the late 1990's and early 2000's, Argentina reached a point of economic collapse. Inflation levels were uncontrollable, unemployment and poverty were widespread and many private and state-run institutions faced bankruptcy. Rather than ceasing to produce films, however, in response to this economic crisis, a new movement, known as New Argentine Cinema or the Latin American School, arose (Falicov 2006: 2). These directors adopted a new low-budget model that favoured regional dialects and locally specific, socially conscious narratives. These films can be linked to the Italian neorealist movement of the 1950's. Although the primary focus was on national audiences, the success of these works grew and they became popular on the international market. Prominent filmmakers include Pablo Trapero [*El Bonaerense* (2002), *Rolling Family* (2004), *Born and Bred* (2006) and *Leonera* (2008)], Lucrecia Martel [*The Swamp* (2001),*The Holy Girl* (2004) and *The Headless Woman* (2006)], Daniel Burman [(*Waiting for the Messiah* (2000), *Lost Embrace* (2004) and *Family Law* (2006)] and Lucia Puenzo [(*XXY* (2007) and *The Fish Child* (2009)]. Despite the initial collapse of the film commission following the crisis, Argentine Cinema has benefited from state support, which through the use of tax levies on foreign films, has provided support both to established and first time filmmakers. This has allowed artists to make experimental, socially critical works that are ungoverned by market dictates (Falicov 2006:9).

[26] Dearham is the former CEO of the Film Resource Unit and was a board member on the NFVF council from 1999 to 2007.

The current economic emphasis in the industry is further evident in the National Film and Video Foundation's (NFVF) revised Value Charter of 2009, which makes an economic case for the film industry (NFVF 2009: 13). By placing emphasis on the economics of film production the NFVF attempts to align cinema with other national industries. This is clear in the detailed focus on the various aspects of the value chain in the Charter (2009: 7; 14; 15; 16; 17). In a recent address to the minister of Art and Culture, Ms Lulu Xingwana, the South African Screen Federation (SASFED) expressed concern about the industry's current emphasis on commercialism and economic value. SASFED argued that although it is good that various other government departments have realised the value of the film industry and have become actively engaged in programmes to support it, this economic emphasis has caused the 'arts and cultural imperatives' to take a back seat (Xingwana 2009: online resource). SASFED is concerned, because it is of the view that 'The industry's commercial and economic prospects depend on its inherent cultural and artistic development' (Ibid.). It also pointed to the work of the NFVF, arguing that the organisation's commercial criteria (and equity structures) for production funding 'replicates other commercial financing mechanisms and undermines the social, cultural and artistic responsibility of the NFVF in the development of South African film' (Ibid.).

Tensions between culture and commerce in national film industries tend to result in a number of (often-overlapping) binaries. These include: '(1) national versus global markets, (2) high art versus mass culture, (3) broad versus niche/segmented audiences, (4) national versus local representation and (5) urban versus rural representation' (Falicov 2006: 6). Falicov argues that the primary impact of these binaries in national industry development is the orientation of state policy 'towards domestic film spectators in addition to international audiences' (Ibid.). In the following discussions (in Chapters Four to Nine), I highlight occurrences of the aforementioned binaries in the post-apartheid film industry, paying particular attention to evidence of this domestic vs. international dichotomy in mechanisms of state support.

4.4. Exhibition, Distribution and Audience Development

Flanery (2009) argues that cinema in South Africa remains 'in its distribution and availability, including infrastructure and affordability, largely a medium for the wealthy and the white (which, with a few exceptions is a tautology)' (240). This is indeed a valid observation with such circumstances being a direct result of the racist geopolitics of apartheid. Fifteen years into democracy, many of the 'black' areas of the country are still undeveloped and the accession of basic amenities such as housing, water and electricity remain a struggle for many. Due to the aforementioned privatised, monopolised, profit-driven distribution practices, it is not surprising that cinema theatres are scarce in these areas. In fact, there are also very few cinema houses in small towns and rural areas. Most theatres are located in the shopping mall complexes of the metropolei, and since it is often inconvenient, dangerous or too expensive for inhabitants of rural and/or 'black' areas to travel to such malls, the majority have become largely alienated from cinema attendance (DTI 2005a: 17). [27,28]

It is important to note, however, that the state and the private sector *have* made certain efforts to alter the unequal exhibition and distribution infrastructure. For example, in October 2007, Ster-Kinekor opened the first cinema multiplex in the newly built Maponya Mall in the township of Soweto (a black township on the outskirts of Johannesburg that is home to about two million people). Secondly, the Film Resource Unit (FRU), in particular the Mobile Video Education Project, has been a leader in audience development since the 1980's. This non-government organisation (NGO) has partnered with government bodies to establish community-based audiovisual facilities in townships, rural areas and in five other SADC countries. Unfortunately, in recent years, FRU's effort has been compromised by serious financial and administrative difficulties.[29] And, despite the (somewhat belated) financial

[27] South African public transport is primarily run by privately-owned minibus taxis, with such vehicles accounting for 65 percent of the transport total, 20 percent by bus and 15 percent by rail (Arrive Alive 2009: online resource). These vehicles are notoriously dangerous, having high levels of fatal accidents – a likely cause of the often-illegal vehicles and drivers (Ibid.). This transport system is also unregulated, with schedules being unpredictable particularly at night. This irregularity, the expense and the high levels of crime in the country, makes individuals reluctant to go out at night.

[28] Although Ster-Kinekor and Nu Metro have certain cinemas that sell cinema tickets at a cheaper price (R20) to accommodate poorer audiences (such as the 'Junction' cinemas of Ster Kinekor), a cinema ticket usually costs about R40, which is a fair amount of money for many South Africans.

[29] For a full explanation of FRU's financial and administrative difficulties please refer to Dearham (2007:

assistance from the Department of Arts and Culture (DAC), its work has effectively been interrupted and the future of this organisation remains unclear. Since 1994, there have also been other alternative distribution mechanisms introduced. For example, Ster Moribo is an initiative run by Ster-Kinekor and black empowerment group, Thebe Investments, that operated a number of existing cinema screens in townships. Moribo also established Maxi Movies, an initiative that provided individuals with finance and equipment to set up exhibition venues in South Africa and neighbouring countries (Tomaselli and Shepperson, 2000: 333). The Mamaramba iBioscope, Amarabella, the 'African Screen' at the Labia Theatre, 'Molweni Township Film Festival' and Shout Africa are examples of similar initiatives that have aimed to democratise exhibition practices. However, such novel cinema operations require substantial 'soft money' subsidies and big business support if they are to survive. (Gillis 2006: 25). And, thus in the absence of sufficient support, the majority of these initiative have folded with Mamaramba iBioscope, Shout Africa and possibly Maxi Movies being the only exceptions (the status of Maxi Movies could not be ascertained from available data) (NFVF 2001: 33).

Film festivals also offer a potential 'foundation for the evolution for a more democratic kind of film culture' in South Africa, where audiences 'can learn to watch more than just Hollywood genres (Tomaselli and Shepperson, 2000: 335). For example, the Durban International Film Festival (DIFF), which is sponsored by numerous national and international bodies, exhibits a high level of indigenous content in formal and informal venues in metropolitan and township areas. However, while the DIFF is well supported, due to budget constraints, some of the smaller film festivals are facing the threat of closure since Eddie Mbalo, CEO of the NFVF has warned that 'we need to realistically look at those international festivals and markets that work for our industry with the aim of supporting them adequately, whilst we close down those that do not work, without being too emotional about it' (2008c: oral presentation). Therefore, like the other alternative exhibition and distribution initiatives outlined above, film festivals remain vulnerable in the absence of sufficient soft finance and state support. Therefore, while there are initiatives in place in the country that are designed to integrate film into mass culture and to take it beyond the niche audiences of the

online resource).

city, there is clearly a need to prioritise such intervention measures if they are to be sufficiently developed and sustained.

Brazil also has a history of racial segregation, oppression and economic marginalisation, and there, too, cinema has become a luxury of the rich and virtually inaccessible to the poor (mostly black) majority. Both nation industries can be seen to be 'dependent on decisions made in metropolitan [and global] centers of power' (Stam and Johnson 1995: 18), which has an inevitable influence on distribution practices (Ibid.). Furthermore:

> The existing global distribution of power makes the First World nations of the West cultural 'transmitters' while it reduces Brazil and other Third World countries to 'receivers.' The flow of sounds and images tends to be unidirectional. Thus while Brazil is inundated with North American cultural products from television series to Hollywood films to best-sellers Americans receive precious little of the vast Brazilian cultural production. (Ibid.)

The international dominance of Hollywood was established in the 1920's when the US government identified the motion picture industry as a 'primary tool for international trade' (Pillay and Ntuli 2004: 5). Enforcement of this dominance has been 'maintained through World Trade Organisation and other US dominated multi-lateral trade agreements' (19). South Africa, Argentina and Brazil's participation in the global economy as developing nations can be seen to have a decisive influence on their respective film industries since dominant First World Countries use the World Trade Organisation and multi-lateral trade agreements' to maintain the global reach of their export products [including motion pictures] (Ntuli and Pillay 2004: 19). For example, in Argentina, one finds that 'since the 1950's the United States has enjoyed between a 60 and 80 percent market share in Argentina' (Falicov 2006: 6). In South Africa, on the other hand, monopolisation is even more extreme, with approximately 96-98 percent of the content distributed/exhibited originating from one of the eight major Hollywood studios (Smith 2008: 349). The dominance of foreign content on South Africa screens can be attributed to the (1) long-standing contractual agreements between local companies and major US studios, (2) the proven track-record of Hollywood product and (3) the fact that these foreign imports are often ironically cheaper to buy than

local films, due to the secondary price system of Hollywood.[30] These circumstances have resulted in South African product being left with approximately two percent of screen time, which is still shared with other independent films originating in Europe and the US. These films are usually classified as 'art house' by exhibitors and rather than being targeted at broad audiences are relegated to exclusive theatres in elitist neighbourhoods that are attended by niche audiences. Croft notes that this is a trend in national cinemas, where, due to Hollywood's dominance, such cinemas 'are limited to specialist exhibition circuits traditionally distinct from those of Hollywood product' (2006: 52).

American cultural imperialism can be seen to extend beyond the limits of the traditional cinema theatres into the local DVD market, the press and television. For example, Ster-Kinekor, Nu Metro and United International Pictures (UIP) distribute product from the major Hollywood studios through local DVD retail and rental outlets, with such facilities being largely absent in township and rural areas. Furthermore, in the local press, and other national media, American films tend to receive much support with such channels having long been 'taken up by this euphoria of glamour and glitz' (Blignaut 1992: 113). In the case of television, one finds that although the Independent Communications Authority (ICASA) has enforced local content quotas on the public channels of the national broadcaster, the South African Broadcasting Association (SABC),[31] the dominance of US product is still evident on private channels such as M-Net, Etv and Digital Satellite Television (DSTV). The supremacy of this multinational industry is not without certain economic and socio-cultural repercussions. On an economic level, one finds that since local audiences have become accustomed to the high-production budgets and expensive marketing campaigns of Hollywood product, the success of local films, which tend to be more modest, has effectively been reduced (Botha 2007: 43). Therefore, the 'bulk of South Africa's total box office revenues flow back to US companies' (Pillay and Ntuli 2004: 19).

[30] Secondary pricing is a clever system where American films that have already recovered their costs on the domestic markets are 'profitably dumped' on developing countries at very low prices (Stam and Johnson 1995:19).

[31] Local content quotas were introduced in 1997 by ICASA. These were updated in 2002 and current local requirements were increased from 25 percent to 55 percent for public broadcasters, 20 percent to 30 percent for commercial free-to-air stations and from 5 percent to 8 percent for pay stations.

On a sociological level, Dearham argues that if one understands film as more than a commodity, as 'a vehicle for carrying ideas, opinions, values and diversity,' then this medium becomes crucial in the promotion and maintenance of 'a culture of freedom of expression of opinion' and is an essential human right in terms of our democracy (2008: oral presentation). However, he notes that this understanding of cinema is strongly contested by US studio-based groups and lobby groups, in particular multinational trade agreements maintained by the World Trade Organisation (WTO), where cinema is approached purely as merchandise – as a commodity like any other good and service (Ibid.). This view subjects cinema to free-market mechanisms and in accordance with international trade rules open markets and attempts to do away with any national regulations to support local content production and distribution with such measures being seen to distort competition. For example the South African Department of Trade and Industry states:

> We reject solutions to defend the economy from competitive pressures through restriction on trading with the world or subsidies to domestic companies. Such actions would detract from the market framework, which brings major competitiveness improvements. They would also run counter to the World Trade Organisation (WTO) and the benefits it brings to our exporters. (2005: 5)

Thus, this free-market approach, which is a product of globalisation, might be seen to interfere with a citizen's right to freedom of expression and opinion (Dearham 2008: oral presentation). Furthermore, for citizens to 'truly enjoy human rights, to really make up their minds and express their opinions' they have to be open to and exposed to diverse sources of information and content 'especially in the realm of film' (Ibid.). However, if a person is only exposed to a very limited source of storytelling, as in South Africa, a society might become narrow and censored. Brazilian filmmaker, Roberto Farias further argues that the dominance of the US has repercussions for the mediation and representation of identities on screen:

> Cultural products originating in wealthy countries are fashioned to the tastes of the public of the producing market … normally wealthy countries hold and disseminate, deliberately or not, a distorted image of the reality of poor countries … They import, for the enjoyment of their public, the image that they have created of us, while at the same time they impose their own reality on us. (Roberto Farias quoted in Johnson and Stam 1995: 95)

By referring to the existence of a 'distorted image' of society this argument indirectly supports the idea that reality can be presented by insiders as undistorted or 'authentic.' Such an understanding is based on the exogenous vs. endogenous binary, where the national is understood to be an 'ideal sculpted form lurking within the unworked stone' (Johnson and Stam 1995: 395). This argument therefore, at least partially, can be seen to run counter to the non-essentialist understanding of post-colonial cinema presented by Harrow (2007). Nevertheless, Farias's identification of economically derived global stratifications as the cause of this unequal cultural creation and exchange is indeed significant. Furthermore, this argument might be related to the processes of 'self-misrecognition' that Harrow describes (2007: 118), where nationals of developing countries, who have limited control over the creation and circulation of images in the media, find themselves responding to and identifying with images created by others of themselves, their communities and their experiences in the world. In the following discussion, I examine these tensions between inside and outside in the globalised, transnational production context of the post-apartheid film industry.

4.5. The National Film and Video Foundation (NFVF)

4.5.1. NFVF Vision

The NFVF is the principle mechanism for state assistance in the post-apartheid industry. In 2004, the vision of the NFVF was to build a 'quality South African film industry that represents the nation, sustains commercial viability, encourages development and provides a medium through which the creative and technical talents of South Africans are able to reach the world' (NFVF 2005a: 3). This vision has since been updated when the new Value Charter was launched in November 2009. The NFVF now envisions a South African Electronic Content Industries (SAECI) that:

- Mirror and represent the diverse national identities, particularly the previously marginalised.
- Promote the creative and technical talents of South Africans to find support in the pursuit of freedom of expression.
- Sustain viable livelihoods for those South Africans who choose this domain as their area of occupation.

- Entertain, educate and inform South Africans, the region, the continent and the world (NFVF 2009: 8).

The NFVF's updated vision is most interesting and bears a complex relationship to the industry as a whole and to the specific work of the NFVF. In fact, it is difficult to give it due attention within the spatial constraints of this study because it could easily warrant a thesis in itself. Nevertheless, in this general discussion I will highlight its key points and explain how they relate to the greater industry environment. Firstly, it should be mentioned that the vision is somewhat ambitious in light of the prudent budget of approximately R39 million per annum that the NFVF receives from the DAC. This budget is evidence of South Africa's state-funding ratio of approximately 2.6 percent, which is small in comparison to the international standard of 19 percent found in countries such as France (Silinda 2008: 25).[32] Nonetheless, this budget it is expected to cover the NFVF's four main intervention areas, namely: (1) education and training, (2) development, (3) production and (4) marketing/distribution.

This restricted budget has a major impact on the NFVF's ability to achieve its mandate since, according to the 2009 *Value Charter*, the required budget for 2008 to 2022 'maturity' stage of the industry is R3 billion ($375 million). This is almost ten times the current allocation (NFVF 2009: 12). The potential impact of additional finance is evident in the example of the Special Feature Film Production Fund of R35 million, which was granted to the NFVF by the DAC between 2004 and 2006. This fund resulted in a record year for feature film production in 2005, with 13 films being produced compared to an average of seven. The department's unfortunate decision not to renew this fund has major implications for the implementation of NFVF policy and the general growth and sustainability of the film industry (NFVF 2008a: 8).

[32] The already-tight budget of the NFVF's budget is likely to be cut following the reduction of the budget allocation for the arts from the Department of Arts and Culture (DAC) by R14 million for the 2010/2011 financial year van Schalkwyk notes that this 'means that each of the seven arts disciplines, including film, will receive R2m less than before' (2010: online resource).

In furthering the discussion on the updated vision outlined above, it is important to mention that while the original and updated visions are relatively similar, there are also some significant differences that deserve mention. Firstly, the 'film industry' has been renamed the 'Electronic Content Industries.' This change is indicative of the NFVF's intention to work within the realm of digital technology and of its belief that in the digital age, it is no longer viable to 'define the role of an institution in technology specific terms, such as film and video' (NFVF 2008a: 25). Secondly, in the new vision, further emphasis is placed on diversity and the concept of multiple national identities. This is interesting, since it ties in with earlier theoretical discussions on multiculturalism in Chapter Two, where I stated that the paradigm of the New South Africa, the national identity that the state is attempting to build, is one of multiplicity and pluralism rather than a singularity or totality. The first point in the new vision also places importance on representation of previously marginalised people. This emphasis on servicing the majority of the population runs throughout the Charter. For example, it is stated that 'the industry can only flourish in an environment where the diverse cultural interests of the majority of South Africans are recognised, creative freedom and flair is encouraged and ensuring that South African stories reach the masses through cinemas' (NFVF 2009: 4). The inclusion of the previously marginalised in cinema production and distribution will require major transformation however, since white, male practitioners still dominate the industry. In fact, in a recent survey of the film industry, the NFVF estimated that of the 55 films under analysis, just 12 had black directors and women directed only 6 of these films (NFVF 2008a: 14).

Race	Director	Producer	Editor	DOP	Screenwriter
Black	12	11	1	1	11
White	43	44	51	49	40
N/A	0	0	3	5	4
Total	**55**	**55**	**55**	**55**	**55**

Table 3: Summary of Film 'Creatives' by Race (NFVF 2008a: 14).

The emphasis on equality in the 2009 vision is also likely to have repercussions for the aforementioned monopolisation and fragmentation in the industry because it recognises the impact of unequal access and monopolisation on industry sustainability. For example:

> Except for the broadcasting systems, the distribution and exhibition spheres are the most unregulated component of the value chain. It is also the weakest link in the value chain, particularly in servicing previously disadvantaged areas … This is *an area where state intervention is necessary* as the market has failed to provide adequate facilities and access to such facilities to historically disadvantaged communities are marginalised areas. Factors such as vertical integration and consolidation of companies, the under servicing of the majority of the South African population and a limited number of distributors result in low competition for the duopoly in distribution and exhibition. (NFVF 2009: 32, own emphasis)

This overt recognition of monopolisation is important in an industry that had previously not dealt directly with this topic (see discussion on the White Paper in Chapter One). The new NFVF Charter is quite revolutionary because it appears to place emphasis on state intervention. In fact, in the same document, the NFVF even suggests the protectionist measures of 'introducing a levy on cinema tickets and DVD sales' (NFVF 2009: 6), to assist industry growth. Such ideas are quite opposed to the emphasis on free-markets in the DTI quote above. Thus, although the new Charter can be seen to place importance on economics, it might also be indicative of a shift in the industry away from a strictly 'free-market' approach to development, towards one that is responsive to the influences of monopolisation and globalisation. This approach is clear in the following quote:

> The development of a sectoral model of contributing to the building of national identity against the global cultural hegemony is necessary. While some may argue that the convergence of the Information and Communication Technologies (ICTs) could bring opportunities to the South African content domain, they are more likely to reproduce and increase the prospects of South Africa as a net importer of cultural goods, including film and video. (NFVF 2009: 5)

It is significant that the NFVF recognises the influence of US dominance on South African cultural production because the historic dominance of Hollywood product on South African screens has led to there being an emphasis on high production values in post-apartheid cinema. In fact, the word 'quality' in the NFVF's 2004 vision is indicative of this trend.

Dovey identifies this as the primary, binding characteristic of post-apartheid cinema and as the possible reason behind the international awards granted to South African films in recent years (2007: 144). She notes that through extensive exposure to Hollywood studio product, 'a 'First Cinema' mode of production has become institutionalized in South Africa, characterized by high production values and an emphasis on the commercial rather than artistic value of films' (Dovey 2007: 144-5). Dovey refers to Fernando Solanas and Octavio Getino (1976), who define First Cinema products as 'seamlessly constructed illusionistic Hollywood movies' (quoted in Dovey 2007: 145).

While one could argue that Dovey's claim does not give adequate recognition to the increasingly popular trend of low budget, digital production in the industry (discussed in Chapter Five), nonetheless, she is accurate in her observation that an emphasis on quality, in particular technical quality, has been a distinguishing industry trend. Furthermore, while this emphasis on technical quality could be seen as an attempt to maintain internationally recognised standards, and to garner support from international audiences and funding organs,[33] Dovey rightly observes that this feature does not come without certain ideological compromises and that it places South African cinema in diametric opposition in its aims 'to the producers and directors of the video film industries sprouting up in West Africa and East Africa' (2007: 146). Here one can identify one of the dichotomies outlined by Falicov (2006) – high art versus mass culture – where, on the one hand, high art offers a technically superior but exclusive approach to film industry development, while mass culture, on the other hand, might be technically inferior, but more inclusive (6). In the NFVF's new Value Charter of 2009, significantly, the word 'quality' has fallen away from the vision. This might be indicative of a move in the industry towards a more mass, 'democratic' approach to cinematic development. The following statement by the NFVF suggests this:

> The participation by civil society in shaping their destinies requires a paradigm shift, a move to film and cinema as popular culture away from the notions of high culture entertainment which is exclusively accessible to the elite. It is this notion that film and cinema is a high culture entertainment,

[33] It is important to note, for instance, that in Roy Armes' 2008 Dictionary of African Cinema, the Nigerian film/video industry, despite it being the dominant producer in Africa, is not covered due to its informal and often home-entertainment approach …Thus, one can see how conforming to established standards of technical quality and distribution can have implications for the international acceptance and scholarly study of national cinemas.

> which further entrenches the two mediums for the reproduction of societal class inequalities and the consequential marginalisation of local cultural interests. (2009: 29)

Smaller production budgets can also allow filmmakers greater freedom of expression since the products are likely to have fewer collaborators and investors. The explicit mention of freedom of expression in the NFVF's 2009 vision is a reference to the National Constitution, Chapter Two, Section 16. This emphasis on free expression and the cultural role of filmmaking might be evidence of a move away from overt 'commercialism.' This is further suggested by the replacement of the term 'commercially viable' with 'viable livelihoods' in the vision. A final point relates to the intended market and purpose of products because, although the NFVF continues to pursue both local and international markets, in the updated vision, the aim has been broadened to include regional and continental audiences. Furthermore, the purpose has been adjusted and rather than simply aiming to 'reach' such markets, the NFVF now intends to 'entertain, educate and inform' them. This adjustment in purpose is indicative of the organisation's intention to express its commitment to civil society and nation building.

4.5.2. NFVF Action in the Industry

While the NFVF Charter of 2009 shows some interesting changes and potentially significant shifts in state film policy, since it is very new, it is impossible to assess its material outcomes at the time of writing. Furthermore, while the NFVF claims that it intends to incorporate the previously marginalised majority and to challenge the US dominated, monopolised industry, no clear plan of action or projects are outlined in the Charter, with the document remaining rather vague in this regard. Thus, below I discuss some of the NFVF's projects and programmes implemented to date with the awareness that its future approach and work might change as it becomes increasingly informed by the vision of its updated Value Charter.

One of the primary ways in which the NFVF is attempting to change the levels of racial and gender inequality in the industry is through the development of a skills development programme that is a part of the National Skills Development Strategy. Currently, in

accordance with 'Section 4(1) and Section 3(e) of the NFVF Act No. 73 of 1997' (NFVF 2008c: 4), the NFVF provides bursaries to students. In fact, between 2001 and 2008, it funded 230 students to the value of R10, 230,794 (NFVF 2008c: 5). Such investment is indicative of the organisation's belief that 'effective skills development and nurturing prospects for people from previously disadvantaged communities' plays a fundamental role in the advancement of the South African film industry (NFVF 2008c: 4).[34] If one looks at the demographics of the students who have benefited from this scheme, one finds that previously disadvantaged peoples have indeed received significant assistance with 74 percent of funded students being black and 61 percent being female (NFVF 2008c: 6).

While this is indeed an important state intervention in the film industry's development, if one considers where funds are being spent, one finds that rather than investing in public institutions, 66 percent of such funds are being used to pay a private film school, AFDA, The South African School of Motion Picture Medium and Live Performance. This public-private partnership is a likely symptom of the neoliberal national paradigm. However, in the interest of dividing state finance more equally amongst education stakeholders, and with the aim of saving funds, perhaps a more democratic option would be to increase the number of bursaries for institutions serving the public sector. Universities and Technical Colleges would benefit from this investment since many of these organisations have established film and media departments that are in dire need of state support. Nevertheless, this bursary scheme appears to be an interim plan while the preparations are made for the NFVF's ultimate education goal: the establishment of a National Film School.

In the NFVF Act, it is stated that the NFVF, in collaboration with the Departments of Education and Trade and Industry, would investigate the feasibility of a National Film School. Although there has been little progress for many years in this regard, on the 12th of October 2009, at South African Screen Federation (SASFED) Film and Television Industry Meeting, the newly-appointed Department of Arts and Culture Minister Lulu Xingwane, stated that arrangements were underway to establish such a school (2009: 2). The Minister

[34] There are also a number of intervention programmes run by other state departments that are designed to transform the racial demographics of the film industry. These include: (i) the South African Qualifications Authority (SAQA), (ii) the Skills Development Act no. 97 of 1998, and (iii) the Media, Advertising, Printing Publishing and Packaging Sector Education and Training Authority (MAPP-SETA) that incorporates about 280 training providers including tertiary educations, private colleges and companies, individuals and independent training bodies (Tuomi, 2005: 97).

also explained that investigations had been conducted in Los Angeles at the University of California with the aim of stimulating skill transfers and developing a partnership with this institution (Ibid.). The Minister's announcement has led to much controversy in the industry with stakeholders objecting to the establishment of such an institution. For example, SACOMM (the South African Communication Association) in correspondence with six accredited providers of degree and diploma courses in film and television production has written a letter to the Minister (signed by Gerda Dullart principal of AFDA, Cape Town) objecting to the lack of communication on this issue (Dullart 2009: 1).[35]

In the SACOMM letter it is argued that the NFVF Act speaks of investigating the feasibility of a national school. However, such an investigative process would necessarily follow consultation with relevant industry, state and educatory stakeholders and would start with an audit of internal facilities, rather than a US-based institution (Dullart 2009: 2). It is further stated that 'many universities and private film schools already offer top class film, television and multimedia courses across a range of disciplines including media, music, drama, journalism, fine arts, electronic engineering, computer and software programming' (Dullart 2009: 3). Since the cost of setting up this school would be equivalent to that of setting up a small university, and existing university funds are simultaneously being slashed (Ibid.), there is clearly a need for concrete evidence of the necessity and cost effectiveness of this school. These institutions also want to know what impact the proposed school will have on existing infrastructure (Dullart 2009: 4). It is therefore suggested in the letter, that a more feasible option would be to increase the level of bursaries to existing institutions.

Nevertheless, the NFVF appears to be rather set on this idea and has responded to objections by arguing that they have indeed conducted an extensive feasibility study on a national and international scale. The investigation and was led by an advisory panel comprising representatives from the IDC, Higher Education of South Africa (HESA), Statistics South Africa (STATSSA), Human Science Research Council (HSRC) and the NFVF council (Screen Africa 2009a: online resource). The NFVF have insisted that the results from this study support the establishment of a National Film School and thus the

[35] Please refer to Appendix N for a copy of this letter.

organisation will be created as originally planned (Ibid.). Nevertheless, it remains to be seen how the industry stakeholders will react to this news.

The establishment of the National Film School might be seen as a continuation of existing training measures that the NFVF is currently involved in, in particular the Sediba Scriptwriter's Training and Development Programme, which is an initiative spearheaded by the NFVF and run in collaboration with the South African Script Writer's Union (SASWU) and the South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC). Sediba is a three-level course launched in 2005 that teaches aspirant and established filmmakers to write and edit film scripts (van Schalkwyk 2008a: 6). While the Sediba syllabus is not publicly available, it is possible to gain an understanding of the general orientation of this course through results from qualitative interviews and through public statements made by the NFVF's CEO, Eddie Mbalo and Sediba's founder and creator, Alby James. For example, Mbalo was recently quoted saying that while he thinks 'it is good for filmmakers to pursue their aspirations we need to find stories that can travel. The best way is through script development and this is why we have Sediba script development programme' (2009a: 24). This statement implies that the script writing taught at Sediba is designed to make films that can appeal to a wide audience and relates to the emphasis on commercial sustainability evident in the NFVF's vision for film industry development. In an earlier statement, Mbalo provided further illumination on the type of script development supported by Sediba, when he suggested that South African filmmakers need to adhere more closely to the classical narrative structure to increase audience engagement (2008b).

Sediba's support for the classical narrative structure is also apparent in a statement made by the founder and creator of the programme, Alby James, 'our purpose is to reinforce the participants' understanding of the role that classical story structure and genre plays in storytelling. But it also aims to challenge and encourage participants to take risks with genre structure, tone, voice and character' (2008: 23). While James's statement does suggest that Sediba encourages a certain degree of experimentation, his words echo Mbalo's description of a scriptwriting programme that teaches filmmakers to work within a classical, three-act narrative structure. Although it is indeed important for films to have a 'paying audience' (Botha 2004: online resource), this approach might also be viewed as

somewhat outward orientated, market-driven and formulaic. It will be interesting to see whether the apparent rigidity of this approach filters into the curriculum of the proposed National Film School, because this could have a significant impact on the degree of experimentation and creative self-expression granted to future South African filmmakers.

Nevertheless, Sediba has almost become a prerequisite for NFVF funding. For example, in an interview with NFVF CEO Eddie Mbalo and [former] Head of Production Ryan Hairdarian, it was explained that the fundamental point of judgment for the review panellists is whether the stories submitted 'work on a structural level' and whether a person is entertained when reading the script.[36] If a story has potential but 'does not work,' then Sediba attendance is required (2007: pers. comm.). Interestingly, in the interview Hairdarian admits that an academic such as myself might not agree 'with someone coming from [his] perspective' as to what makes a story 'work' (Ibid.). He further explained that the panellists selected by the NFVF are individuals who 'have a very strong understanding of what a story is' and have read a large number of screenwriting books. When questioned whether the books read might also discuss alternative narratives structures, he noted that 'any scriptwriting book worth its salt' would not be 'looking at niche films, that nobody gets a chance to see' (Ibid.). In the interview, Haidarian and Mbalo made significant reference to the writings of anthropologist Joseph Campbell, in particular his seminal work *The Hero with a Thousand Faces* (1949). Haidarian explained that the three-act [classic] narrative structure and the hero's journey are in fact, based on the results presented in this book, which proves the universality of story telling (Ibid.). In the interview, it is further illuminated that prior to sending scripts to the panellists, suggestions are often made by Haidarian himself to increase the individual's 'chances of success'. He explains that resubmission is often suggested following revisions to the story based on this three-act, hero-driven understanding of filmic narrative. Once Haidarian is satisfied with the script (although he notes that he gives up after about four resubmissions), it is sent to the panellists together with every note that has been made, so that the council can make the 'final decision' on what to fund (Ibid.).

[36] Please refer to Appendix L for a transcript of this interview. Please note that it was not the easiest interview to transcribe or, indeed conduct, because Mbalo and Hairdarian insisted on being interviewed simultaneously and in the interview, they spoke incessantly and I was hardly given an opportunity to ask a question.

Nonetheless, not all filmmakers welcome Sediba training. For example, when Jans van Rensburg, a teacher of film at the Cape Peninsula University of Technology and director of *Intonga* (2009), 'was told to go on a five-month scriptwriting course,' he chose not to attend (Zvomuya 2009: online resource). He argued that the NFVF had not only 'lost its vision', but had also lost touch with the way in which the film industry works: the turnaround time in filmmaking does not allow for such courses (Ibid.). Furthermore, although there was a relatively balanced response to the three-act narrative structure in qualitative interviews, direct responses to Sediba itself (Table 22), were mostly (71 percent) critical: with the relevance and efficiency of short-term scriptwriting courses being questioned (Table 22: g and i), fault being found with the way in which the programme is run (Table 22: e and f) and the programme being seen an infringement on creativity and an enforcement of the Hollywood-style narrative structure (Table 22: c and d).[37]

Thus, it is evident that the NFVF, in particular Haidarian (in this former post as Head of Production), has considerable influence over the kinds of stories that are funded by the state. The emphasis is on commercial success and economic sustainability, since as Haidarian notes, unlike the state system in France where the purpose is to develop culture, in South Africa, the state is 'investing in this sector of the economy because they think that this could be a real driver of the economy' (2007: pers. comm.). This emphasis on commerce is linked to the neoliberal vision of GEAR, whereby production focuses directly on the market, attempting to identify 'who the audience is, what they want to watch and the mechanisms through which this can be efficiently delivered by filmmakers' (Gillis 2006: 10). This method is differentiated from a content-led strategy where emphasis is placed on subsidy schemes and the individual artistic expression of the filmmaker. Given the increasing market-orientation of the post-apartheid film industry, it is likely that – in the absence of relevant intervention measures – black and white filmmakers alike, will find themselves tailoring their stories to suit the tastes of either foreign audiences (as will be discussed below) or the existing national audience, which has seen little change since apartheid.

[37] The tables that I refer to here and in subsequent references to interviewee' responses can be found in Appendix F.

Thus, this market-orientated approach, or 'commodification of cultural life' (Golding and Murdock 1991: 20) can result in national production being informed by the hegemony of the market and risk and innovation often being forfeited in the interest of tested, formulaic, and/or 'safe' options. This avoidance of innovation is evident in Haidarian's discussion of an up-and-coming, NFVF-supported film *Violence*, which is written and directed by the black South African filmmaker, Khalo Matabane. He explains, that unlike Matabane's previous film, *Conversations on a Sunday Afternoon* (2005), Matabane 'can't go experimental', this time, he needs 'a strong plot, a strong structure' (Ibid.). Haidarian explains that Neil Jordan's film *The Brave One* (2007) was shown to Matabane to inspire him, with the only difference between the two films being that his is about 'violence in South Africa' (Ibid.). While Matabane's film may indeed prove to be in line with his creative vision, it is difficult to know how he as an artist responded to the development process of Sediba because he was not comfortable to speak about it in the interview that I conducted with him. When asked about the Sediba scriptwriting course, however a fellow black South African filmmaker (whose name I have not disclosed here given the critical nature of his comments) spoke his mind freely and explained how he felt outraged by the NFVF's enforcement of a formulaic, rigid narrative structure:

> I'm still learning as a filmmaker, always. But, I hate to be boxed in, and I find those structures to be very pedantic and very boring. I think that there are films that have come up recently like *21 Grams*, *Babel* and *City of God* that have just introduced a whole new way of making films. I'm trying to explore different ways of making films myself … There's a film I'm trying to develop and it's a musical … where the dance becomes a character in the film. So, the film is told through dance. It's a very complicated idea, but I sent it to the NFVF and those idiots have no understanding … no concept of allowing South Africans to find their own voice They've got this American guy there who's responsible for development and the first thing he talks about is the three act structure [this is a likely reference to Haidarian who is an Iranian American]. He wants South African films to look like Hollywood films and I've just said f*ck it, I'm not interested in working with you guys …and I'm saying 'listen, I'm trying to develop in this film ... I'm experimenting here, at least work with me and try and see my vision'. But they cannot do that. If it doesn't fit into their vision then it doesn't work. So I've just said 'you know what I'm going to have to develop this film in another way' … I had a meeting with Ryan [Haidarian] and some script editor and they said go and watch this movie, go and watch that movie, I don't want to watch these movies, I don't want to watch any movie because I don't want it to be like any movie I've seen. I'm trying to do something different, so I'm not interested in working with those clowns any more. (2008: pers. comm.)

Thus, it is clear that the NFVF funding, particularly in the form of Sediba, can have a considerable influence on the ways that local stories are told. This homogenisation of storytelling, however, can be seen to impinge on a filmmaker's right to freedom of expression granted by the National Constitution (Chapter Two, Section 16). In addition to working within formulaic artistic conventions, filmmakers might find that their work is further controlled by the hegemonic national discourse of reconciliation and multiculturalism. This concern was raised in interviews where it was argued that the NFVF 'were attempting to run a 'cultural mafia' and 'promoted a 'rigid nationalist discourse' (refer to Table 4: e and Table 22: d). Moreover, the NFVF's compliance with the post-apartheid discourse is evident when Mbalo, in describing the application for NFVF funding, noted that filmmakers should be 'conscientious about providing work that SA [South African] audiences will respond to as well as stories that actively work against the reproduction of negative racial and gender stereotypes' (Mbalo 2009b: online resource). Furthermore, in the aforementioned qualitative interview with Mbalo and Haidarian, it was noted that the NFVF fund films that 'promote diversity, reconciliation' and although they are not prescriptive as a commercial studio is, they intervene 'when we think that it is a negative portrayal' or when a film is seen to be offensive 'to certain parts of the population' (2007: pers. comm.). Filmmaker Teddy Mattera, however, 'challenges the NFVF's allocation of funding to 'reconciliation' films. He argues that many black South African filmmakers want to make films in which they explore residual anger and the limits of reconciliation, but the investors do not want to support such topics' (quoted in Dovey 2007: 147). Dovey argues that while white filmmakers, are 'more easily seduced by the lure of reconciliation and redemption – unsurprising, when one considers that such an ideology is necessary to sustain white presence in South Africa' (Ibid.), black filmmakers, on the other hand, such as Suleman and Dube reject reconciliation in favour of films that focus rather 'on the slow recuperation of the integrity and dignity of the black and Coloured communities of South Africa' (Ibid.).

Therefore, it is clear that there are some contradictions between the visions that filmmakers have of the industry and the planning and ideology of the state. This, however, is the norm for national cinemas, where, according to Lucia Saks 'there must be 'an ongoing dialogue

and surely a partial contradiction between the projection of state or industry planning and the subjectivity of the individual filmmakers' (2003:142). In relation to the developing nation of South Africa, a country with an internationally renowned first president and a progressive national constitution, she argues that it is particularly difficult to:

> Reconcile one of the major principles of cinema as an art – the right to self – expression and personal vision … with the complexities of a state subsidy system conceived under the sign of cultural and economic renaissance, or with the demands of industry conceived under the sign of a free market place of goods. (Ibid.)

Thus, Saks proposes that the only way in which South African filmmakers will be able to 'remain progressive, innovative and independent within the institutional and market controls is to avoid giving in to either the dictates of political correctness or the hegemony of the market' (Ibid.).

4.6. The Industrial Development Corporation (IDC)

The NFVF is assisted in its task to build the post-apartheid film industry by a number of incentive and support schemes administered by fellow state bodies. The IDC is one such organisation that supports the NFVF in its aim to 'encourage development' in the South African film industry. The IDC is a self-financing, National Development Finance Institution (DFI) that was established in 1940 to promote the economic growth and industrial development of the country (IDC nd: online source). Under the auspices of the DTI, and management of the Media and Motion Pictures Division, the IDC has funded over 30 films with an investment value of more than R500 million ($62.5 million) (Silinda 2008: 25). IDC assistance 'usually takes the form of loan finance, by means of equity, quasi-equity, commercial loans, wholesale finance, share warehousing, export/import finance, short-term trade finance, and guarantees' (Ibid.). The IDC provides a maximum of 49 percent of the production budget with the minimum being R1 million. Projects are considered on the basis of 'merit' and producers are also required to prove commercial viability, which includes securing a 'significant theatrical release and/or high profile television airing with a distributor or broadcaster acceptable to the IDC' (IDC nd: online resource). Pre-sales agreements, thorough market analysis and marketing plans are also

prerequisites designed to lessen the risk of the IDC's investment. Moreover, the organisation reserves the right to attend the production of the film and to consider the 'track record' of the director, producer and principal cast of the film and expects a share in the rights of the production proportional to the investment made (Ibid).

Although this is indeed a valuable form of state assistance in the film industry, the stringent conditions for the award of IDC finance has a significant impact on the types of films that are eligible to apply. The emphasis on commercial investment and the accession of wider markets through 'high-profile' distributors has made IDC finance virtually inaccessible to local filmmakers, who encounter high entry barriers to the foreign market due to the 'increased levels of merger activity and a concentration of ownership' in the global film industry (Tuomi 2006: 82). The inaccessibility of foreign markets is somewhat ironic since the 'Washington Consensus' places emphasis on maintaining open markets. However, as Sparks notes below, it requires some markets to be 'more open' than others:

> The G-8 nations lay down the rules of international behaviour through organisations such as the IMF, the World Bank and the World Trade Organization, which they control, but they do not themselves always abide by those rules. The developing countries are required to open themselves to free trade by lowering tariffs on imported goods and ending subsidies, which of course is great for the big exporters of the developed world, but those developed countries, especially the US and the European Union, maintain their own fat farm subsidies and high tariff walls to protect agricultural and textile industries from Third-World exporters. (2003: 215)

Therefore, most of the films that have benefited from IDC finance are large budget co-production and foreign productions that feature internationally recognised directors, producers and foreign stars [*Blood Diamond* (Zwick 2006), *In My Country* (Boorman, 2004) and *Goodbye Bafana* (August, 2007) for example]. In the DTI development strategy for the film and television sector, this trend is noted: 'The IDC being a commercial operation do not invest in many local productions rather in international productions or co-production' (2005a: 17). This same concern was raised in the qualitative research conducted for this project, whereby informants criticised the lack of finance available to local filmmakers and the high-degree of state expenditure on 'runaway' and high-budget productions for the export market (Table 25: e-f).

4.7. Production for Export: Economic Considerations

The neoliberal production-for-export argument is often presented as a solution to the economic sustainability of the film industry. For example, Helen Kuun of Ster-Kinekor Pictures, quoted in Karen van Schalkwyk (2008b), stated that since cinema audiences around the world are shrinking, filmmakers should not expect movies to 'earn back production costs from a local release only – films must travel in order to survive' (van Schalkwyk 2008b 21). Interestingly, although this appears to be a significant focus in current industry development, with this trend being apparent in IDC policy and in the NFVF's vision for the 'creative and technical talents of South Africans' to reach the world (NFVF 2005a: 3), production-for-export is not mentioned in the NFVF Act of 1997 (Government Gazette 18489). The relatively recent emphasis on export in local film policy can be seen as evidence of the aforementioned dual – culture versus industry – understanding of cinema. As in the case of Argentina, South African national film policy has given emphasis to *one* of these understandings at different points in time (Falicov 2006: 5). The shift in South African film policy towards a more export-driven paradigm is thus likely to be connected to the wider neoliberal approach of national development that has been on the increase since the advent of GEAR in 1996. Similar changes in emphasis appear to be evident in the French industry, where the 'French government has felt compelled to embrace a film policy encouraging the pursuit of the global market and attempting to compete with Hollywood on its own terms' (Danan 2006: 176). As is the case in South Africa, the French state reports tend to stress 'the need to encourage film exports and, to that effect encourage new modes of film practice' (Ibid.).

The weight given to export might also be linked to the increasing transnationalism of the media industries, where the original, 'vertical' organisation of people within national communities is (to varying extents, and in varying contexts) being supplanted by their organisation into 'horizontal' communities – people are connected electronically rather than by geographic proximity' (Morley and Robins 2006: 297). Therefore, through the popular media, audiences, particularly in the Anglophone market, are becoming increasingly engaged and mobilised into 'cultural unities that are transnational' (Morley and Robins

2006: 298). Consequently, Morley and Robins argue that although internationalisation is not a new phenomenon, since 'it has always been a constitutive aspect of capitalist development' (2006: 296), it is 'now entering a new stage, and the maintenance of national sovereignty and identity are becoming increasingly difficult as the unities of economic and cultural production and consumption become increasingly transnational' (Morley and Robins 2006: 296-7). One of the results of this transnationalism in the film industry is the international co-production, a production category that 'most obviously confounds any attempts at a neat parcelling of 'national' cinemas' (Croft 2006: 56).

International co-productions are becoming more popular as national industries struggle 'to produce, exhibit and distribute films in an environment dominated by Hollywood product (Goldsmith and O'Regan 2003: 19). These production models are essentially financial arrangements whereby a film's budget is split between two or more international partners. International co-productions can be divided into official and unofficial agreements. Official co-productions are bound by an international treaty that is signed by representatives of the participating national governments. Such treaties strictly stipulate which languages can be used in production, who can participate, where the films are to be made, how the films are to be distributed, the ownership of the resultant intellectual property and the negotiation of artistic and editorial control, with the level of this control ostensibly being dependent on the financial contribution made by the participating countries (South Africa and Germany Treaty, Article 4, Clause 3 for example).

Unofficial co-productions, on the other hand, are far less formal, and somewhat more difficult to define. In this thesis, unofficial co-productions are understood to be a form of international co-finance, or literally, co-production, where in some cases the money may come from one source and the creative and/or technical talent from another, or, as is often the case, the talent and finance may come from multiple sources. This funding model differs from official treaty production, since such productions are not governed by official rules and regulations, with cultural, artistic and financial decisions being made privately between the filmmakers and financiers. However, while these two arrangements might easily be distinguished, in attempting to differentiate between an unofficial international co-production and a foreign production, one can encounter certain difficulties since the

lines between 'national', 'transnational' and 'foreign' have become increasingly blurred. For example, there are a fair number of productions in South Africa that are commonly known as 'runaway' productions. These productions often feature local content in the narrative, have received state finance from the IDC or the DTI (as discussed below) and employ local crew. However, such productions do not welcome collaboration at a creative level, with the influential creative positions and the principal cast being reserved for internationally recognised, foreign individuals [see *Blood Diamond*, (Zwick, 2006)]. Therefore, for the sake of clarity and consistency, in this study on post-apartheid cinema, although films that have exclusively received foreign funding are considered in analysis, those which fail to include a significant degree of local creative contribution – at the level of producer, director, director of photography or principal cast member – have been excluded.

Co-productions are a significant trend in the post-apartheid film industry with 33 percent of the films analysed between 1994 and 2009 being of this nature. Most of the co-productions in South Africa are made through unofficial co-finance agreements between South African filmmakers and ostensibly American or British producers and financiers. These productions accounted for 89 percent of the co-productions within the period of analysis. State support for co-productions is evident at a number of levels. Firstly, there are the official co-production treaties that have been signed with Canada (1997), Germany (2004), Italy (2003) and the United Kingdom (2007) (NFVF 2008a, 8).[38] Secondly, South Africa has been sold internationally as the 'Co-production Partner of Choice' by the NFVF at international film festivals such as Cannes (Screen Africa 2009b: online resource). Thirdly, such productions receive significant production support from the state through the IDC, the DTI (discussed below) and the NFVF, with 40 percent of the projects funded by the NFVF to date being co-productions. The reasons behind the state's support are multiple, and can be seen to relate to South Africa's position as a vulnerable, 'developing-nation' in the global marketplace. For example, co-productions are often sold to the public as a way to (1) share production finance, (2) attract foreign currency, (3) access wider markets and (4) improve local filmmaking skills through working with more-experienced

[38] It is significant to note that South Africa has not entered into any official co-production agreement with another developing country. In fact, all of the official and unofficial co-productions have been made with nations of the 'developed world' of Europe and America.

co-production partners. While these benefits may indeed be real, there are also a number of other, arguably 'less positive' co-production trends that deserve mention.

Firstly, co-productions tend to cost more than local productions. For example, Croft (2006) notes that co-productions often occupy the 'upper end of the budget range' (56). Moreover, in her analysis of the French industry, Hayward estimated this to be 'an average of twice as much as films that are entirely French' (2005: 49). Furthermore, with regards to the Brazilian industry, a similar trend was noted by Johnson and Stam, where co-productions, which were 'invented as a kind of salvation for Brazilian cinema, resulted only in an absurd cost increase for *all* cinematic production in Brazil' (1995: 65). They further argue that while the co-production programme certainly improved the technical quality of Brazilian films, with 'virtually all the Brazilian film exhibited in the United States during the last decade' being produced under such arrangements (Johnson and Stam 1995: 375), the programme caused 'production costs to be inflated to levels far beyond the market potential for return in the domestic market' (Ibid.). If one analyses the aforementioned budget categories designed for this analysis of the post-apartheid film industry, one finds that the high-production value of co-productions is certainly evident. For example, while categories one and two were used exclusively by local productions, co-productions were clearly predominant in the higher budget categories, accounting for 57 percent of the films in category four, 50 percent of category five (with the other 50 percent being productions featuring Leon Schuster) and 100 percent of category six (refer to Appendix M for a quantitative analysis of co-productions). In the NFVF analysis of films produced between 2000 and 2007, a similar trend is identified (although the percentages may vary slightly from those provided, given the different parameters of inclusion and time period mentioned above):

> Co-productions constituted 39 percent of South African productions but had the highest budget share of 84 percent which can be attributed to the fact that 78 percent of co-productions had a budget of over R50 million compared to local productions with 41 percent of the films produced with a budget under R10 million. (2008a: 21)

The emphasis on commercialism and high-production values in co-productions, in IDC policy and in post-apartheid cinematic production, might be understood as an attempt to

'beat Hollywood at its own game' (Croft 2006: 50). However, such outward-orientated development strategies are seldom successful, because 'whereas Hollywood markets itself through well-established transnational networks and with relatively standardised market pitches of star, genre and production values, the export operations of (other) national cinemas are far more hit-and-miss affairs' (Croft 2006: 51). For example, if one considers the case of the Vera Cruz studios in São Paulo, Brazil, one finds that like current approaches in South Africa, the directors of this studio aimed to use 'themes, genres, and production values' to achieve 'the 'look' of First World dominant cinema' (Johnson and Stam 1995: 28). However, while Vera Cruz was found to improve the quality of Brazilian cinema (Ibid.), the concept itself was flawed:

> Vera Cruz falsely assumed that high quality production would guarantee its films a place in the market, totally ignoring the limitations that the market imposed on Brazilian films. In search for high quality, the company made investments totally incompatible with the profit potential of national films. (Galvao 1995: 274)

Thus, it remains questionable whether the production-for-export/co-production approach to industry development is the optimum use of state finance. In fact, in the French industry, such productions have been estimated to use three times more state finance than local productions (Hayward 2005: 49). Similarly in South Africa, one can see that the IDC – a production mechanism that has spent more funds on foreign productions than on local films – receives a far greater portion of state finance than the NFVF.[39] Such expenditure inspired an informant in the DTI Sector Development Strategy of 2005, to argue that if the IDC had spent just 10 percent of their total financing allocated to date on 50 percent finance for local films then approximately twenty South African films might have been made, 'which would have a greater impact in building the domestic industry and would probably have seen no worse returns than the aggregate experienced across the IDC slate to date' (2005a: 17.). If one analyses local box office figures against the budget bands presented in Table 4 below,[40] one can see that this may indeed be so, since, the local returns on high budget productions,

[39] Although it is not possible to make as exact an estimate as Howard's, such information was not forthcoming from the IDC due to confidentiality agreements, if one assess annual budgets one finds that while the NFVF receives R39 mil per annum for all 4 areas of support, the IDC received R250 million for 3 years (R80 mil per annum) for production only.

[40] Of the 82 films under analysis, box office and budget data was available for 37 of them. Thus, although this table does not provide data for all of the films, nor does it indicate international box office figures or DVD and broadcast sales, it does indicate some general trends of audience support at the local box office.

particularly budget band six, are not very high. Furthermore, while category five does indeed appear to be more successful, if one considers that 92 percent of the total box office for this band was made by four Leon Schuster productions, one can assume that such figures are an indicator of his local popularity rather than a general box office trend for this budget band. In fact, if one looks at the profit margins, one will see that budget band two is a less risky production option for local filmmakers.[41]

Budget Category	Total Box Office	Average Box Office
1 (0-R1mil)	336,218.00	168,109.00
2 (R1-3mil)	6,972,699.95	996,099.99
3 (R3-R10mil)	7,917,558.00	989,694.75
4 (R10-R20mil)	8,538,358.00	1,219,765.43
5 (R20-R50mil)	127,595,499.00	12,759,549.90
6 (R50+)	6,136,399.00	2,045,466.33
Total:	**157,496,731.95**	**4,256,668.43**

Table 4: Box Office and Budget Bands

4.8. Production for Export: Cultural Considerations

In addition to economic challenges, the high-production, commercialised, production-for-export approach to the development of the post-apartheid industry may be seen to have certain cultural, artistic and/or ideological results. While internationally-supported and internationally-focused films offer filmmakers welcome relief and freedom from the post-apartheid film industry – an environment made somewhat claustrophobic by limited finance, a rather hegemonic state discourse, formulaic approaches to script development and a narrow, oft-unsupportive cinema audience – the export environment itself is not without its cultural, artistic and ideological limitations. For instance, in theorising Asian cinematic identity, Anne Ciecko questions:

> What happens when Asian cinema as a cultural commodity (re)produces images that the West expects and imposes on it; when it recognizes itself as the object of the Western gaze and represents accordingly; when it perpetuates

[41] However, while these figures are indicative of trends found in local audience responses in mainstream local cinemas, it is important to note that such data excludes international box office takings since reliable box office figures for international films are largely unavailable.

> stereotypes? Dialectical relationships of self and other are negotiated within Asian regional, national, and transnational film industries and markets. In the ever-shifting contemporary global mediascape, appropriation and imitation, and the assertion of indigenous cultural expression, subversion and reinvention, and the creation of 'new' forms all contribute to the production of multiple Asian cinematic identities. (2006: 31)

Ciecko's observations on transnational identity negotiations are applicable to this study, where one might also question how, through the transnational medium of cinema, local experiences are negotiated, mediated and reinterpreted for external consumption. Croft argues that this phenomenon is quite common in national cinemas: even Hollywood is **'**influenced by the aspirations of the export market' with there being a notable 'reluctance to export films with non-white heroes' (Ciecko 2006: 52.). In addition, national cinema producers 'often cautiously bank on their foreign market's imputed disinterest in the culturally specific' (Ciecko 2006: 53), and, thus foreign distribution of national cinemas tend 'to erase the culturally specific' and to focus rather on culturally universal phenomena such as 'family, madness, artistic ambition and rape 'with specific local inflections' (Ibid.).

If one considers the case of co-productions, where multiple partners are making films for wider markets, one finds that such films can be seen to encourage the 'culturally bland' and a certain loss of specificity (Croft 2006: 56). In post-apartheid cinema, language is an important cultural and ideological factor to consider in cinematic production, given the emphasis on multilingualism in the South African National Constitution (1996, Chapter 2, Section 30). However, while indigenous languages may receive emphasis in the national rhetoric, one finds that of the three official co-productions made between 1994 and 2009, two of them were exclusively in English with the other one being in a combination of English and Afrikaans. The dominance of English is also manifest in the eighteen unofficial co-productions produced during the same period. Sixteen (64 percent) of the films were exclusively in English, three (12 percent) were in Afrikaans and English, five (20 percent) were in a combination of English and an indigenous language and just one film, *Tsotsi*, was produced exclusively in indigenous languages (refer to Appendix M). Thus, there is clearly a tendency in these export-orientated productions to use English – the 'lingua franca' of the globalised world. The emphasis on English in these productions can be identified as a form of global homogenisation where English and American pop culture has become the status quo and indigenous languages and art forms are increasingly marginalised. Thus, an export-

orientated paradigm can have consequences for local cultural expression and representation. The international pressure of English has also been felt in France with Danan noting that since the 1980's, French national cultural policy appears to be changing, with the state 'openly encouraging the making of English-language super productions in the hope of capturing a larger share of the global market' (2006: 171). He argues that the 'perceived need to shoot high-budget films in English may only be the most blatant strategy for emulating the hegemonic Hollywood model' (Danan 2006: 177).

Therefore the dominance of English in international co-productions is clearly related to market demands with subtitled film sin foreign languages perhaps being identified as a possible discouragement to mainstream audiences. This internationalised emphasis extends beyond the use of English to the choice of actors and even the accents adopted. For example, the director of *Hansie* (Van den Bergh, 2008), a film about the (in) famous South African cricketer, explained that since they 'had funding from America,' they [the financier] wanted an American actress (2008: online resource). Furthermore, when he was questioned in an interview whether the actress had mastered the 'Bloemie' (Bloemfontein) accent, he replied that they chose for her to use a more 'mid-Atlantic', neutral accent because 'Australian and American audiences couldn't always follow the South African accent' (Ibid.). Thus, it is clear that the international focus of this film influenced the cultural-specificity of the production. Perhaps the local unpopularity of such productions (from box office statistics it can be estimated that local productions make twice as much as co-productions) might be attributed to this lack of specificity or familiarity. For example, at the AW Mellon symposium, filmmaker Ross Garland argued that 'in the casting of lead roles in these films in South Africa, I think that this is where one encounters a lack of authenticity. Particularly in terms of language and stories where languages are clearly not true to the stories themselves' (Presentation, UCT 31st May, 2008). Whilst one needs to be wary of the term 'authenticity' I think that it is reasonable to assume that films made primarily with foreign audiences in mind run the risk of being unfamiliar, alienating and somewhat unappealing to local audiences, whose tastes, preferences and indeed, culture have not informed the production.

Another factor that might relate to the relative failure of co-productions on the local market is the question of genre because while the most popular films in South Africa are comedies,

with this genre accounting for almost 83 percent of the total gross box office takings (see Table 5 below), of the 28 co-productions made between 1994 and 2009, just three were comedies. Drama was the favoured genre in co-productions, accounting for 64 percent of films produced in this period (see Appendix M). Perhaps, the dominance of the drama genre in co-productions is an indication of the export-driven nature of such productions, because while comedies are often parochial, dramas have a greater potential to travel across cultures since audiences are able to identify with a character's emotional journey. Nevertheless, this generic choice has certainly not increased the popularity of co-productions with local audiences.

Genre	Box Office	Avg. per film	% (Box office)
Adventure	1,088,988.00	544,494.00	0.533956575
Comedy	169,233,550.95	8,058,740.52	82.97921309
Crime	12,744,508.00	3,186,127.00	6.248933731
Drama	13,302,856.00	380,081.60	6.522704963
Drama (Christian)	7,577,019.00	3,788,509.50	3.715191643
Thriller	917.368.00	917.368.00	0.449807
Total:	**203,946,921.95**	**3,137,644.95**	

Table 5: Box Office and Genre

Artistic and/or editorial control is another important factor to consider in transnational filmmaking. As with the 'cultural' issues discussed above, the degree of control is often relative to the amount of money invested by the respective partners. Due to South Africa's relatively weak economic position as a developing country, local filmmakers often become the 'junior partners' of these productions and are relegated to correspondingly 'junior' artistic and editorial decisions. For example, if one considers available statistics for films made between 2000 and 2007, one finds that while South African filmmakers directed and produced 80 and 100 percent of local films repectively, in the case of co-productions the percentage is significantly lower with local filmmakers directing and producing 55 and 27 percent respectively. Furthemore, even in the cases when local filmmakers direct such films, one finds that key cinematic decisions are likely to have been made in a 'committee-

style' between the various stakeholders, which can potentially interefere with the artistic vision of the director and the cultural and/or artistic specificty of the production. Artistic compromise is not a specific chracterisitic of co-productions, however. On the contrary, this might be identified as a more general trend in African cinemas, where due to a lack of local finance and Europe/Hollywood's hegemony of the market, one finds that with the exception of a few notable cases such as the Nollywood industry of Nigeria (which is discussed below in more detail), filmmaking on the continent has 'been an overwhelmingly colonial enterprise, practiced by artists trained in Europe and subsidised by European capital to make sophisticated films, on celluloid, aimed at non-African audiences' (Kiefer 2006: online resource). For example, in the cases of *Tsotsi* (Hood, 2005) and *Yesterday* (Roodt, 2004) although the filmmakers were able to use a local cast and vernacular languages, it might be argued that the international success of these films is related to the directors' proven abilities 'to master the vocabulary of the Hollywood film, to speak in a formal language that Hollywood and American audiences understand, even if the language coming out of the character's mouths requires subtitles' (Flanery 2009: 240).[42]

There are also important ideological and representational factors to consider in transnational cinematic production. Above, Ciecko posed an imperative question in this regard, by questioning what happens when Asian (or South African) 'cinema as a cultural commodity (re) produces images that the West expects and imposes on it; when it recognizes itself as the object of the Western gaze and represents accordingly; when it perpetuates stereotypes?' (2006: 31) This echoes the discussion by Farias above where he highlights the possible influence of global power relations on the images exported and consumed by developing countries [Roberto Farias (quoted in Johnson and Stam 1995: 95)]. Such tendencies have not gone unnoticed in South Africa, where certain filmmakers, in particular black filmmakers, have expressed open dissatisfaction with the stereotypes of black people in the media. For example in his article on the South African film industry by Sean O'Toole, Ramadan Suleman, director of *Zulu Love Letter* (2004) and *Fools* (1997) is quoted saying that he is 'tired of being regarded as a *tsotsi*.[43] I am capable of being a lawyer, of being a minister, a president – I want to see such things in my films. I'm tired,

[42] Please refer to further discussions on *Yesterday* in Chapter Seven

[43] '*Tsotsi'* means 'rogue,' 'thug' or 'vagabond' in Tsotsitaal, a street language that developed in Johannesburg in the 1940's and 1950's. Tsotsitaal is an informal mixture of Zulu, Xhosa, Afrikaans, Tswana and other South African languages.

however, of seeing myself as a rapist all the time. I'm tired of seeing myself as an irresponsible black man… I'm not a *tsotsi* – and hence it is normal that *tsotsis* win Oscars' (2007: online resource). Furthermore, in response to pervasive racial stereotypes in the media, South African filmmaker, Zola Maseko has proposed that:

> Just like Spike Lee took black cinema out of the ghetto, we as African filmmakers are faced with taking cinema out of the village, out of that 'Tarzan' stereotype and bringing it to mainstream. And it's easy to go and make a film like 'Tsotsi' [which] was a great film, but it still feeds on that stereotype. You make a film about black gangsters, Soweto in the hood, that's what people expect of black people, you make a film about black lovers or black presidents, or black writers or black artists, and they're not interested in that. (pers. comm. 2008)

Thus, the production-for-export approach to cinematic development clearly has certain economic, cultural, artistic and ideological considerations.

4.9. Department of Trade and Industry (DTI)

The final mechanism of state support to be discussed is the DTI rebate.[44] This initiative, which was launched in 2004, has less stringent funding conditions than the IDC and NFVF schemes discussed above and can be seen to facilitate or at least support a model of filmmaking that favours lower production budgets. In the DTI rebate scheme, a fixed percentage of funds spent on production, or 'Qualifying South African Production Expenditure' (QSAPE), as it is formally known, is reimbursed to filmmakers once the film is complete.[45] The programme underwent some major revisions between 2004 and 2009, with the adjustments in policy being indicative of the DTI's support of the development of both the service industry and the local industry. For example, when the rebate was originally launched, it was specifically created to meet the needs of high-budget productions. It was tailored at the export market and aimed to contribute 'significantly to

[44] It should be noted that the South African Revenue Services (SARS), through Section 24F of the Income Tax Act (1962) also assists owners of cinematic products by excluding 'any deductions for production costs or any allowances relating thereto under any other provisions of the Income Tax Act and provides for a film allowance instead' (Gauteng Film Office nd: online resource).

[45] Given the oppressive economy, the Department of Trade & Industry has decided to change this rule and in an attempt to help filmmakers with cash flow difficulties has agreed, in the future to pay rebates during the course of the production.

making South Africa a preferred destination of choice for international film development as well as enhance the competitiveness of locally produced films on the global market' (DTI 2005b: online resource). The export orientation of the original initiative is also identifiable in the prerequisite QSAPE of R25 million to qualify for the 15 percent rebate. If one refers to Table 6 in Chapter Five that indicates the frequency of budget bands by year, one finds that this budget is quite high by local standards. Of the 41 productions for which budget information was available, over 26 (63 percent) were produced for under R20 million. The remaining 15 productions (37 percent) were either productions written by and/or featuring the local comedian Leon Schuster or were co-productions, which as discussed above, generally cost more than local productions.[46]

In 2008, after a consultative process with industry stakeholders, the DTI launched the new rebate system. The aims of this rebate are to create employment, increase local content generation and improve the location competitiveness for filming in South Africa (DTI 2008: online resource). To date the revised scheme has been most successful. For instance, the estimated employment figures for all the projects that were approved between February and December 2008 are 53370 (DTI 2008: pers. comm.). The DTI's commitment to addressing racial inequality in the industry is also particularly evident in the revised scheme where all applying companies are expected to meet the requirements of Broad-Based Black Economic Empowerment (DTI 2008: online resource).[47] The revised scheme has two parts with foreign productions and South African productions (and official co-productions) receiving differential benefits. The first part of the scheme, the Location Film and Television Production Incentive, caters exclusively for foreign productions. Here the original minimum production spend of R25 million ($3.1 million) was lowered to R12 million ($1.5 million) (DTI 2008: online resource). The second part of the scheme, the South African Film and Television Production and Co-Production Incentive, is targeted at local productions and official, treaty co-productions with a rebate of 35 percent being given

[46] It is important to remember that as the most successful filmmaker on the South Africa market, Schuster can afford to make more expensive films due to his established, supportive audience (refer to Appendix A for box office figures).

[47] Broad Based Black Economic Empowerment (BBBEE) was initiated by the South African government to replace the Narrow Based Empowerment of 2003-2004 which had been criticised for leading to the enrichment of a few black South Africans rather than to the economic upliftment and empowerment of the majority. While BBBEE was introduced with the Broad-Based Black Economic Empowerment Act 53 of 2003, the Codes of Good Practice on Black Economic Empowerment was only formalised by the government on the 9 February 2007 in Government Gazette no. 29617.

for the first R6 million spent, and 25 percent thereafter. The original minimum production spend of R25 million ($3.1 million) was radically lowered to R2.5 million ($312 000) to accommodate low budget productions. From the Tables 6 and 7 below, it is clear the new rebate has indeed been most successful in boosting local film production with the number of films and the average rebate having increased considerably in this relatively short time period. The average number of co-productions and foreign films has also increased due to this revised rebate.[48,49]

OLD REBATE: 42 months (Jun 2004 - Jan 2008)						
Prod. Approved	No.	QSAPE	Rebate	Avg. QSAPE	Avg. per month	Avg. rebate
Local	16	746,000,000.00	140,000,000.00	46,625,000.00	0.4	19%
Co-Prod.	7	272,000,000.00	65,000,000.00	38,857,142.86	0.2	24%
Foreign	26	1,426,000,000.00	166,000,000.00	54,846,153.85	0.6	12%
TOTAL	**49**	**2,444,000,000.00**	**371,000,000.00**	**49,877,551.02**	**1.2**	**15%**

Table 6: DTI 2004 Rebate

NEW REBATE: 19 months (Feb 2008-August 2009)						
Prod. Approved	No.	QSAPE	Rebate	Avg. QSAPE	Avg. per month	Avg. rebate
Local	41	708,000,000.00	143,000,000.00	17,268,292.68	2	20%
Co-Prod.	12	265,000,000.00	71,000,000.00	22,083,333.33	0.6	27%
Foreign	24	1,227,000,000.00	154,000,000.00	51,125,000.00	1.2	13%
TOTAL	**77**	**2,200,000,000.00**	**368,000,000.00**	**28,571,428.57**	**4**	**17%**

Table 7: DTI 2008 Rebate

4.10. Conclusion

[48] It is important to note here that the number of co-productions is significantly higher than the statistics that I refer to. This is due to the fact that the DTI rebate is open to a much wider variety of formats (feature films, telemovies, television drama series, documentary and animation) (DTI 2008: online resource).

[49] While this has been a very successful intervention, unfortunately producers are still struggling to find the other 70% of the production budget. In fact an amount of R73 million was returned to the DTI treasury for the financial year of 2008/2009 (ScreenAfrica 2009c: 8).

In this chapter, I have provided an overview of the post-apartheid film industry. In doing so, I have outlined how this industry intersects with the political-economic agenda and socio-cultural history of the country. From the above writing it is clear that the film industry, like post-apartheid society as a whole, is socially and economically fragmented. This fragmentation, particularly among audiences, remains one of the greatest challenges to the sustainability and growth of the industry. While the state is attempting to support the transformation of the industry through various policies and strategies, these have been largely framed within the paradigm of neoliberalism, which does not favour direct intervention or protectionist measures. In this chapter, I have discussed how such free-market forces have resulted in local cinematic developments being rather formulaic. Moreover, I have identified an 'outward orientation' emphasis in policy, where local films are made to appeal to international audiences and to reach global markets. It is questionable however, whether the needs and preferences of local audiences, in particularly the black majority, are being adequately accounted for in this neoliberal framework. Nevertheless, alongside this dominant trend, there is a new movement growing in the industry that supports low-budget digital filmmaking. This technology provides alternative production, distribution and exhibition opportunities that can potentially revolutionise the prevailing structure of the post-apartheid film industry. In Chapter Five, this alternative avenue for South African cinema is explored.

Chapter Five: Digital Cinema: An Alternative Model for Cinematic Production and Consumption?

5.1. Introduction

In the chapter that follows, I discuss the low-budget, digital filmmaking trend that is evident in the post-apartheid film industry. I commence by introducing the rise of the low-budget digital film in South Africa. Secondly, I examine the potential of this model as an alternative production strategy, highlighting specific business requirements in this regard. This discussion is integrated with the fourth section of this chapter, which concerns the intersection between digital technology and big screen exhibition mechanisms. This section is followed by a discussion on the application of small screen mechanisms in the consumption of digital cinema.

5.2. Low Production Budgets and Digital Filmmaking

The growing trend of low budget production in the industry is evident in Table 8, where it is evident that since 2004, productions made on a budget of under R10 million (budget categories 1, 2 and 3) have become a common feature of the local industry. This trend reached a peak in 2007, when such categories accounted for 86 percent of the films under analysis. The dip in low-budget releases in 2008 (57 percent) is possibly evidence of filmmakers' anticipation of the revised DTI rebate. However, it is possible that given the support of this scheme, the production of low-budget films should grow steadily from 2009 onwards. The pioneering digital filmmaking company in South Africa is DV8, an initiative founded by Jeremy Nathan and Joel Phiri in 2001, which aims to literally 'deviate' from traditional production and distribution models.[50] DV8 partners with state entities including the NFVF, The South African Broadcasting Association (SABC) and private bodies such as Ster-Kinekor and Rand Merchant Bank to develop digital films (NFVF 2008b: 8). The support provided by the state to DV8 initiatives is indicative of this model's potential to

[50] DV8 has produced *Shirley* Adams (Hermanus, 2009), *Izulu Lami* (Ncayiyana, 2009), *Zimbabwe* (Roodt, 2008), *Bunny Chow* (John Barker, 2007), *The Flyer* (Revel Fox, 2005) *Max and Mona* (Mattera, 2005) and *Forgiveness* (Ian Gabriel, 2004).

lower the financial risk of film production and to increase production levels. State support is further evident (1) in the revised DTI rebate of 2008 (2) the 3-film production slate that the NFVF awarded to RogueStar Films in 2008, (3) in the NFVF's renaming of the film industry as the 'Electronic Content Industries' to indicate its emphasis on digital platforms (2009: 25) and (4) the new slate recently promised by the Gauteng Film Commission (GFC) (Terry Tselane, Sept 2009: online resource).

This move towards a low-budget model for local filmmaking is indicative of a shift in focus in the industry. From a high-budget export driven model to more of a multilayered model that targets both export and local markets. In this latter model one finds that while the high-value productions of an 'international standard' are still supported by the state, particularly through the DTI and IDC incentives described above, a low-budget trend, which is almost exclusively, or at least primarily, focused on the tastes and preferences of the local market, runs parallel. For example, Eddie Mbalo, CEO of the NFVF was recently quoted saying that African films need to 'appeal first to audiences at home before [attempting to] break into foreign markets' (Mbalo 2008a, 3). A similar argument was reflected in qualitative interviews, where, despite most informants (56 percent) being in favour of exporting local product, a significant percentage (33 percent) suggested that films be made primarily with the local market in mind rather than producers focusing on the export market (Refer to Appendix F: Table 23 for this analysis).

		2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	*N*	*%*
Budget Band	**1 (0-R1 million)**	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	2	4.76
	2 (R1-R3 million)	0	0	0	0	3	0	2	3	8	19.04
	3 (R3-R10 million)	0	0	0	2	3	1	3	1	10	23.82
	4 (R10-R20 million)	1	0	0	0	2	2	1	1	7	16.66
	5 (R20-R50 million)	1	1	0	2	2	3	0	1	10	23.82
	6 (R50 million+)	0	0	1	1	1	1	0	1	5	11.90
Total		2	1	2	5	11	7	7	7	42	**100%**

Table 8: Budget Bands by Year

5.3. Low Budget Productions and the Business of Filmmaking

The lowering of production budgets has been made possible through advances made in digital technology. These have allowed for the development of improved, high-definition (HD) production quality and innovative storage, distribution and consumption solutions. One finds that independent filmmakers and mainstream studios alike have been taking advantage of the cost-effectiveness, and in some cases, animation possibilities that such technologies offer [with *Star Wars Episode II: Attack of the Clones* (Lucas 2002) being a good example]. However, while mainstream studios have been exploiting the benefits of this new technology, the most radical, [arguably] revolutionary potential of this technology lies with the independent filmmaker, who, for the first time 'since the establishment of Los Angeles as the capital of the film industry', might find a viable, independent filmmaking model in reach (Irwin 2004: 5-6). Nevertheless, Irwin argues that to sustain such a feature narrative practice, fundamental business requirements need to be met, and a supportive marketplace ought to be in place (Irwin 2004: 5). 'Anything less condemns independent feature to a cultural ghettoization' (Ibid.). The four 'business' conditions that Irwin identified are summarised below:

1) The quality must meet industry standards and yet the costs should be low.
2) The means of distribution should be cost-effective and should enable filmmakers to 'reach out to the most appropriate audiences for their work.
3) The audiences must be large and insatiable so that new material can also feed into the existing market.
4) There should be an 'opening in the market place' such as 'underserved niche audiences of significant size, or an unfulfilled need at the bottom of the market space' (Ibid).

In the following discussion, using these business conditions as a rough guide, I will outline the possible benefits and limitations of digital technology as a potential model for independent feature film production and consumption in the post-apartheid context.

In terms of the first business requirement outlined above, digital filmmaking appears to 'meet the mark' with this medium being described by Irwin as 'a high-quality and low-cost means of production' (2004: 4). The exact savings per production is dependent on the type of equipment utilised by the filmmaker. However, even when high-end HD cameras are

used, which can, in fact, be rather expensive to rent, a filmmaker still saves by not having to purchase film, process it and telecine it (process of transferring motion picture film into video format). The savings on the 'lower end' of HD filmmaking are somewhat greater with camera rental being much cheaper and post-production costs also being reduced since filmmakers can edit and grade their films on a personal computer (with suitable software of course) rather than in an expensive, high end edit suite. One of the initial challenges of this production technology for filmmakers was the question of storage, since even 'a modest 90-minute movie generates more than two terabytes (2 million megabytes) of data' (The Futurist 2004: 9). However, this is becoming less of an issue with the increased capacity and reduced cost of non-linear storage solutions (such as portable hard drives) and researchers finding ways to 'store moving images in high quality – a requirement if digital cinema is to match the high standards demanded by audiences of the silver screen' **(**Ibid.).

5.4. Digital Technology and Big Screen Exhibition Mechanisms

In addition to facilitating a low-cost means of production, 'digital marketing resources offer cost-effective and powerful distribution channels' (Irwin 2004: 4). Such savings relate to the second business requirement of finding cost-effective ways of reaching audiences. For instance, on the distribution side, a filmmaker/distributor can make substantial savings by not having to make a 35mm print of the film (this is known as Digital Intermediate (DI), and costs an estimated R1 million in South Africa). Nevertheless, if a film is destined for a mainstream, widespread release, since the number of digital screens is currently limited, then DI costs may still apply. A second saving relates to making print copies for release (at a cost of approximately R5 to 10 thousand per print in South Africa or $2000 in the U.S). There are also transportation costs to be considered with satellite and/or online delivery making this technology a relatively cheap way of delivering film to theatre (Belton 2002: 105). Nevertheless, while such delivery mechanisms might work for the independent filmmaker, given the major threat of piracy in the industry, it is unlikely that major Hollywood studios will take this risk when transporting high-budget product (Belton 2002: 113).

In terms of quality, while digital films can be seen to eliminate 'jitter, weave, dirt, and scratches from the projected image' (Belton 2002: 107), there are still certain concerns regarding the quality of digital capture and projection. This depends, however, on the quality of the equipment used by the filmmaker and the distributor. For example, projecting a DVD to the big screen can result in an inferior pixilated image that would not meet current industry standards. Nevertheless, significant technological developments have been achieved with digital production and projection equipment, making digital films more and more suitable for mainstream digital distribution (without having to undergo the DI process mentioned above). In fact, since 2002, six major Hollywood Studios (Disney, Fox, Paramount, Sony Pictures Entertainment, Universal and Warner Bros.) under the Digital Cinema Initiative (DCI) have been conducting research to establish and 'document specifications for an open architecture for Digital Cinema components that ensures a uniform and high level of technical performance, reliability and quality control' (DCI nd: online resource).

This mainstream interest is indicative of the potential escape that the digital medium provides from Hollywood's risky, oft-unsuccessful high-budget approach to cinematic production (Irwin 2004: 7). There are certain limitations, however, when it comes to accessing mainstream distribution/exhibition channels because although the move to digital is clearly welcomed by distributors, given the high cost of installing digital screens – estimated to be between $100 and $180 000 in the US)– exhibitors are, understandably, far more cautious (Belton 2002: 111). Therefore, although digital cinemas are growing internationally, one cannot expect the digital screen be an outright replacement of the traditional 35 mm equipment.

Nevertheless, while digital technology might have certain limitations when it comes to traditional exhibition, the possibilities for alternative consumption are quite wide. This potential relates specifically to the flexibility of digital media and its integration into a whole media network encompassing theatres, video and DVDs, thematic cable channels, satellite and digital television (Danan 2006: 181). This integration has led to an increasing percentage of a film's profits being made through such ancillary markets (Belton 2002: 107). Statistics available for the US market indicate that theatrical box office accounts 'for

just 26 percent of a typical film's revenue. Television sales bring in about 28%, on average, and the video and DVD market accounts for a whopping 46%' (Irvin 2004: 9). Such figures directly challenge the 'popular but erroneous assumption that theatrical box office receipts are the dominant revenue of a film' and indicate that the video/DVD is driving the marketplace' (Ibid.). Thus, it can be assumed that despite the high piracy risk of the DVD format, home entertainment has become the true focus of Hollywood product with theatrical distribution being something of an 'expensive marketing campaign designed to eventually drive the sales of videos' (Ibid.). However, the potential of the DVD extends beyond the limits of the mainstream Hollywood studio, to the field of independent film distribution with digital channels offering such filmmakers a selection diverse, and innovative means to reach 'out to the most appropriate audiences for their work' and also enable audiences to access such work (Irwin 2004: 5). Thus, one might say that the first two business requirements can potentially be met through this digital production and distribution model. Nevertheless, it remains to be seen, in the South African context, whether this model can work. Are the relevant mechanisms in place? And is there a big enough, accessible market to support such initiatives?

In answering these questions, I will refer to a comparable low-budget model adopted by independent filmmakers in Brazil during the Cinema Novo movement of the 1960's. In recognition of the inadequacy of a Hollywood-studio model for industry development (promoted by Vera Cruz), like South Africa, Brazilian filmmakers also adopted a new mode of cinematic development that favoured lower budgets. In this context, where commercial cinema was the norm, this auteur-driven movement became revolutionary (Johnson and Stam 1995: 64).[51] The aesthetic adopted by this group, rather than being an imitation of the dominant cinema, 'which would make their work merely symptomatic of underdevelopment' (Johnson and Stam 1995: 379), was an 'aesthetic of hunger', which highlighted the independence and relative poverty of the productions through opting for an 'independent and inexpensive mode of production using, initially, small crews, location shooting, and non-professional actors' (Johnson 1995: 363). Cinema Novo also revolutionised the understanding of cinema by adopting a critical, serious focus on

[51] Note that this understanding runs contrary to the understanding of auteur cinema where such cinema is seen to entertain and not to offer social commentary.

Brazilian society, and by using cinema as a tool for change and social commentary rather than just as a medium for entertainment (Ibid.)

If one compares this movement to digital filmmaking in South Africa, one finds that there are also some interesting points of comparison and convergence. For example, while Cinema Novo appears to be a more organised and radical movement than relative trends in post-apartheid cinema, in terms of production values one finds that despite the aforementioned high-production emphasis in post-apartheid cinema, as Table 8 shows above, low-budget filmmaking has been increasing since 2004. Moreover, certain ideological factors can be seen to bind these two movements, with a number of low-budget South African films offering a relatively serious, critical view of post-apartheid society. In fact, between 2004 and 2005, such films (dramas) made up an estimated 38 percent of the films produced for which budget information was available.[52] Films of this description include: *Forgiveness* (Gabriel, 2004), that speaks about the process of forgiveness and redemption in post-apartheid South Africa, *Yesterday* (Roodt, 2004), a film that highlights the plight of HIV/AIDS infected individuals in rural South Africa, *Boy Called Twist* (Greene, 2004), a film that points the camera at the children who live on the streets of Cape Town, *Faith's Corner* (Roodt, 2005), a silent film that follows the struggle for survival of a mother and her two children living on the streets of Johannesburg and *Soldiers of the Rock* (Maake, 2005), a tale about the men who have built the wealth of South Africa through the risky, difficult and underpaid work of deep ore gold mining.[53]

These two 'movements' also faced similar exhibition/consumption problems with audiences being unreceptive to these films that were arguably, in many ways, 'made by and for an intellectual elite and not for many broad sectors of the Brazilian [South African] people' (Johnson and Stam 1995: 379). For example, in the case of Novo, one finds that although filmmakers criticised the existing exhibition and distribution structures, they did not successfully establish alternative means of showing their films to national and

[52] Here I focus specifically on low-budget dramas. There were also films under R10 million such as *Zulu Love Letter* (Suleman, 2005) or *Max and Mona* (Mattera, 2004) that both provide a critical view of post-apartheid society. However, while Zulu Love letter has not been included here due to the fact that the budget of this film was over R10 million, *Max and Mona*, on the other hand, is a comedy and therefore, although low budget, is not included in analysis.

[53] Please note that while the listed films al have low budgets, they were not all produced with digital technology.

international audiences, and thus, their films were released on established exhibition circuits. The response from the public was disappointing since the audience, being conditioned to watch Hollywood products, 'was generally unreceptive to the films of Cinema low budget production and Novo, which became in many ways a group of films made by and for an intellectual elite and not for many broad sectors of the Brazilian people' (Johnson and Stam 1995: 379). Exhibitors also resisted the Novo films since, given the public's poor response, they argued that 'Cinema Novo films were too intellectual and hermetic for success in the market place' (Johnson and Stam 1995: 380). They did not see why they should be forced to exhibit these films if the public (does) did not like them (Ibid.). Thus, due to this lack of support, Novo filmmakers sought ways to make their films less serious and more appealing to the general public, while still maintaining their 'leftist ideology' (Johnson and Stam 1995: 37).

In the case of the relatively serious, low budget, post-apartheid films listed above, one finds that despite such works claiming significant awards on the international festival circuit, which, in the case of *Yesterday* (Roodt 2004), included an Oscar nomination, the local support for such works is rather poor.[54] Therefore, although the 'policy of low-budget independent productions seemed sound, nothing could guarantee the film's being shown in a market dominated by North American conglomerates' (Johnson and Stam 1995: 36). Moreover, I found in my qualitative research that interviewees generally believed that the serious, critical focus of these works was the reason for their commercial downfall. For example, through an analysis of the answers to Question 30, one finds that interviewees saw the political and experimental orientation of local cinema as the reason for its commercial difficulties and argued that if filmmakers wanted to make financially viable films, then comedies were the answer. A similar trend is identifiable in the answers to Questions 31 and 32 (combined in Appendix F: Table 21), where it was argued that filmmakers should not make films about HIV/AIDS or politics and that experimental films are only tolerated by the elites. Furthermore, in a qualitative interview with Helen Kuun, Acquisitions Manager for local content at Ster-Kinekor Distribution, she argued that 'local' is not a genre and, thus, South Africans cannot assume that their films will all do the same 'business because they are local' (2007: pers. comm.). On the contrary, one needs to look at

[54] Please refer to Appendix A for box office figures for these films.

films within their genre and compare then to foreign films of a similar genre to gage their success (Ibid.) and while local feature films about small cultural environments, in vernacular languages have travelled well, the films with mass local appeal are the 'type of film that Leon Schuster makes', which are slapstick comedies (Ibid.).[55]

Thus, although Ster-Kinekor has provided significant support to local cinema, releasing a total number of ten films in just twelve months (September 2008 to September 2009),[56] since five of these ten films are comedies, there is clearly a preference for comedies. This is likely to be a consequence of the proven financial success of this genre on the local market. For example, Kuun recently announced Ster-Kinekor's intention to support companies that 'have a proven box office success' (Screen Africa 2009e: online resource). The Film Factory, that produced the 2008 hit *Bakgat!* (Afrikaans-language comedy), was awarded a distribution slate of three films since they have shown 'that the team can deliver and develop South African stories that appeal to the audience it is intended to reach [and] have demonstrated the passion it takes to make a film but have also considered all the business angles' (Ibid.). The growth of the low-budget comedy 'formula' is further evident in the mainstream release levels of such films, which increased from an average of 6 percent (2004 and 2005), to 35 percent (between 2006 and 2008). If one compares these levels to low-budget dramas however, one finds that such releases dropped from an average of 38 percent (2004-2005) to 15 percent (2006-2008).[57]

Therefore, like the low-budget filmmaking of Cinema Novo, since post-apartheid independent filmmakers have not successfully managed to establish alternative means of showing their films to national and international audiences, and the current national

[55] It is important to note here that while comedies are excluded from this comparison with Cinema Novo given the overall seriousness of (at least the early) films from this historical movement, this is not to say that I do not recognise comedy's potential to offer societal critique. On the contrary such 'light hearted' critique is discussed in detail in the textual analyses provided in Chapters Five and Six.

[56] *Hansie* (van den Bergh, 2008), *Mr Bones 2: Back from the Past* (Hofmeyr, 2008), *Jerusalema* (Ziman, 2008), *Vaatjie Sien sy Gat* (Esterhuizen, 2008), *Finding Lenny* (Sundstrom, 2009), *Tornado and the Kalahari Horse Whisperer* (van den Bergh, 2009) *White Wedding* (Turner, 2009), *Hond se Dinges* (Heyns, 2009), *Izulu Lami* (My Secret Sky) (Ncayiyana, 2009) and *District 9* (Blomkamp, 2009).

[57] These percentages are based on an analysis of the films for which budget information was available between these periods. One finds that of the 16 such films made between 2004 and 2005, 6 were dramas and 1 was a comedy and of the 20 of such films made between 2006 and 2008, 3 were dramas and 7 were comedies.

discourse of neoliberalism does not support protectionist measures, one finds that diversity has indeed declined and films have been increasingly homogenised and dictated by the market. For example, while the low-budget dramas of the earlier period included two films in Zulu, if one considers the later period, one finds that such films are made in English and Afrikaans and do not feature any black African languages. With the low-budget comedy trend, on the other hand, one finds that not one film in either of the periods considered above features a black African language. On the contrary, such films have been made either exclusively in English and/or [increasingly] in Afrikaans. Thus, the language preferences of the predominantly white, middle-class make-up of the market can be seen to have certain repercussions for the level of linguistic diversity in the films under discussion.

Thus, in reference to the business requirements listed above, although digital technology does indeed potentially offer cost-effective production and distribution mechanisms, if film exhibition is limited to mainstream cinema circuits and such alternative platforms are not exploited, the 'independence' and sustainability of these digital initiatives may be compromised. The question is, what alternative, digital, distribution mechanisms exist in post-apartheid South Africa? And how might these facilitate access to the black majority, who remain an 'unfulfilled' and 'underserved' populace? In terms of digital cinema screens, one finds that although the UN has recommended that small film-producing nations (less that 20 films per annum) apply alternative technologies such as digital formats to make production cheaper and to overcome pre-existing barriers in distribution (UN 2004: 98), digital cinema appears to have received far less state money than film production has. In his presentation at the aforementioned film symposium, Dearham argued that South African films are unable to gain effective release 'because of lack of investment in domestic distribution' (2008: oral presentation). He noted that when such market failure occurs, where films fail because of a lack of distribution infrastructure, then the state has to step in. However, this is unlikely to occur given the NFVF's attitude to investing in distribution - 'it will argue that this is a commercial activity, we cannot give you money for prints and marketing, we can give you money for festivals, but not for essential commercial distribution costs, leave the market forces to resolve it' (Ibid.).[58] Thus, although Ster-

[58] Please note that contrary to this trend, the NFVF has recently invested in the distribution of the feature film *Skin* (Fabian, 2008).

Kinekor and Nu Metro have installed a number of digital screens in their respective multiplexes, and the NFVF do intend to put digital screens in the Soweto Township outside Johannesburg (NFVF 2007, 21), the number of screens is still low when compared to other developing nations. For example, while South Africa was reported to have about 5 digital cinemas by 2005, Brazil, had 'installed 6000 low cost cinemas' by this time (DTI 2005: 44).

5.5. Small Screens, Film Exhibition and Digital Technology

Although home-based entertainment is not the focus of this study, it is important to give adequate consideration to the role of the 'small screen' in the post-apartheid film industry. As mentioned above, home entertainment has become the biggest source of revenue in the Hollywood market. Furthermore, Dearham views such platforms as key to the survival of the independent filmmaker, who has the opportunity through 'three screens as it were – television, computers and mobile' to reach (sometimes niche) markets for her or his product (2008: oral presentation). For example, television is a particularly important mechanism with an estimated 85 percent of households in South Africa owning television sets (Finscope 2008: 13).[59] Thus, this platform currently represents the most 'democratic' means of exhibiting local content. In South Africa, one finds that unlike the relationship between film and television in other African countries, these two industries are quite closely linked with M-Net, SABC and Etv all investing directly in feature films (Tomaselli 2007: 122). Local content has received further support from television through the Independent Communications Authority (ICASA), which has enforced local content quotas on SABC channels.[60] Such quotas have led to the SABC being 'the single biggest generator of content' in the industry. Nevertheless, the full potential of television in the local film industry is challenged by (1) an emphasis on commercialism in programming, (2) a policy

[59] Finscope is a comprehensive household survey that is conducted across South Africa on an annual basis. It is financed by a group of financial service providers (local banks and insurance agencies such as: ABSA, First National Bank, Liberty Life, Nedbank, Standard Bank) and other interested parties including relevant departments from the South African Government. In this thesis I have drawn on results from the 2008 survey. This survey included a total number of 3900 representatives households in urban, rural and informal settlements.

[60] Local content quotas were introduced in 1997 by ICASA. These were updated in 2002 and current local requirements were increased from 25 percent to 55 percent for public broadcasters, 20 percent to 30 percent for commercial free-to-air stations and from 5 percent to 8 percent for pay stations.

to commission rather than license content and (3) the recently publicised corrupt mismanagement of the national broadcaster.

The SABC is mandated by Parliament to play a role 'in the development of the country, in the education of its people and in the building of the South African Nation' (Fourie 2003: 149-150). However, this mandate can be seen to often contradict the demands of its commercial sponsors, who in the financial year of 2001-2002, for example, were responsible for approximately 83 percent of the SABC's funding. Thus, like mainstream cinema circuits, the content shown on television is increasingly controlled by the demands of the market. And, although much of this content is local (due to ICASA regulations), it consists almost exclusively of soap operas, sitcoms, reality programmes and game shows, which have proven to be popular with local audiences and are also relatively cheap to produce.[61]

The SABC's acquisition policy is also not the most supportive of independent cinematic production. For example, Gillis argues that if the SABC adjusted their policy and licensed content rather than commissioning it, 'this would dramatically affect the ability of filmmakers to make products for a wider audience and will improve both the variety and quality of the content' (2006: 49). This policy adjustment would also allow filmmakers to retain ownership of the material and further exploit its potential by selling it to additional television channels, virtual platforms and distributors.

Of these three obstacles listed above, the mismanagement of the SABC is arguably the greatest, with the national broadcaster owing companies and individuals an estimated R60 million ($7 million) (Screen Africa 2009c: online resource). This has resulted in the closure of a number of local production houses, which has left many industry workers unemployed. Producers have gathered in mass to protest against the SABC (such as the march on the 4th of June 2009 outside of the SABC headquarters in Johannesburg), nevertheless, although this has captured the attention of the media, the financial instability of the national broadcaster remains a threat to the sustainability of the local film and television industries. The mismanagement of the SABC has also interfered with the organisation's ability to

[61] Multilingual soap operas such as *Isidingo* and *Generations*, are particularly popular with local audiences. In fact the audience ratings for these programmes outperform foreign counterparts (ScreenAfrica 2009a: 50).

implement the ICASA regulations with the local content quotas not being adhered to for the past seven years (Blignaut 2009: online resource). This is an example of post-GEAR administrative incompetency**.** Nevertheless, a new system (costing R10 million/$1.5 million) has been devised to monitor the broadcaster's compliance with its mandate to air local programmes (Ibid.). This will be introduced in April 2010 and should be far more effective than the SABC's self-monitoring service that has been used to date (Ibid.).

While post-apartheid filmmakers face a number of obstacles in the current broadcasting environment, using digital DVD technology, filmmakers might still be able to use television screens as platforms to exhibit content. Given the high-cost of cinematic release and the entry barriers to the commercial industry, making films for direct DVD release might indeed be a more cost-effective, feasible strategy in South Africa. This distribution model might be related to the highly successful 'Nollywood' model of Nigeria, where ultra low budget films are made using digital technologies. These films are produced without any state support and are released directly onto DVD with a master copy being sold by the producer to the distributor for reproduction. The films are made primarily for the vast local market. The question is whether a similar model might work in South Africa. Is the infrastructure in place and would the filmmakers, public and state support it?

In terms of infrastructure, one might argue that this model would work given the high number of television sets and DVD players in the country (estimated by Finscope to be 85 percent and 62 percent respectively (2008: 13). With regards to filmmakers, there are a number of independent filmmakers who have adapted this model to South Africa. For example, a group from the somewhat remote region of Vendaland has already adopted digital technology to make and distribute ultra-low budget films for their communities (TVSA 2009: online resource). A second example of this production/distribution strategy exists in Johannesburg where three filmmakers, Batana Vundla, Charlie Vundla and Ziggy Hofmeyr, have formed a company 'Joziewood Films' following the archetype of the Nollywood model (Screen Africa 2009f: online resource). Given the recent nature of these initiatives it is difficult to gage their success. However, it is likely that like local soap operas on television, these local products will be well received by the public if the DVDs

are accessible and cheap enough for the general public to afford (see Screen Africa 2009d for relevant Audience Rating figures).

One of the reasons that the disks need to be cheap is to discourage piracy. In Nigeria, there is little regard for copyright with, as Dearham comically stated, there being a situation of 'copy left' rather than 'copy right' (2008: oral presentation). This high level of piracy, however, is one of the reasons why US studio product has never infiltrated this market – the intellectual property protection of the studio product has been completely ignored (Ibid.). Thus, this protection of copyright, the high value given to intellectual property in South Africa – including the property of the country's powerful trade partners in the US – might identified as the major obstacle to the implementation of this 'Nollywood-style' model in the industry. However, Dearham argued 'less product protection for the dominant product' as has been seen in Nigeria, 'could allow our independent filmmakers to reach a wider audience' (Ibid.). Therefore, although the DVD market has clear potential in the country, only time will tell whether an ultra-low-budget, direct-to-video model will succeed in the South African context.

In addition to the DVD, there are other 'small screen' digital information and communication technologies available, including the mobile phone and the Internet. Such technologies facilitate 'a new kind of relationship between place and space: through their capacity to transgress frontiers and subvert territories, they are implicated in a complex interplay of deterritorialisation and reterritorialisation' (Morley and Robins 2006: 295-6). For example, advances in mobile phone technology have allowed an increasing number of such devices to make and show video content [for example the 84min feature, *SMS Sugarman* (2008)] by South African Aryan Kaganof was the first film to be filmed entirely with a mobile phone). Secondly, the 'Web has made it possible for alternative media productions of all kinds to gain greater visibility' (Jenkins 2004, 287). A local example is M-Net's African Film Library led by Dearham, which has purchased the rights to over 400 African and South African films. This initiative was launched on the 23rd September 2009 in partnership with DSTV Online, and is 'the largest electronic library of feature films, shorts and documentaries from 50 years of African film production' (Bizcommunity 2009: online resource). The films on this library are to be distributed using cyber pay-per-view mechanisms, which Dearham views as 'the only method that the independent filmmaker

has at his disposal to find his audience out there in the world, so that *that* audience can click on that program, pay for it using a credit card and view it (2007: pers. comm.).

The question is whether the Internet and mobile phone technology can indeed provide a suitable economic mechanism to deliver South African content. Can such platforms effectively offer filmmakers and audiences alike innovative ways to transgress the traditional distribution and exhibition monopolies and to meet each other through alternative means? If one looks at available infrastructure one finds that although mobile phones are widespread in South Africa, with an estimated 33.9 million mobile screens, or 2.45 phones per household (Target Group Index 2008: 41), few of them have the capacity to play full-length videos, and the ones that do, are expensive to purchase. Furthermore, using such facilities to watch video content inevitably requires the user to download from the Internet. However, computer ownership in South Africa remains relatively low with approximately 22 percent of individuals having access to computer screens (Ibid.), and the available Internet connection being costly and slow.[62] Thus, my conclusion is that while these technologies can be considered as a part of a wider strategy, there are local limitations that hinder the current realisation of their full potential.

5.6. Conclusion

In concluding this discussion on digital cinema, I need to caution against the presentation of digital technology as a major revolution or a 'glorious solution' to all the post-apartheid film industry's problems because as Thorburn and Jenkins have warned, one needs to guard against falling into the trap of 'simplified models of media in transition' where new systems of technology are believed to 'displace older systems with decisive suddenness and have a revolutionary impact on society' (2004: x). They argue that it is important in these times of technological transition to maintain 'a pragmatic, historically inferred perspective that maps a sensible middle ground between the euphoria and the panic surrounding the new media' (Thorburn and Jenkins 2004: 2). This perspective should aim to 'understand the place of

[62] A high-capacity fibre optic cable, Seacom Cable linking Europe, the Middle East and Asiawent live in South Africa on the 23rd of July 2009. This can potentially have a major impact on the price and speed of the Internet connection in South Africa.

economic, political, legal, social and cultural institutions in mediating and partly shaping the technological change' (Ibid). Thus, it is more likely that the new digital production and big/small screen distribution and exhibition models will operate parallel to existing production and distribution technology rather than as an outright replacement (Irwin 2004: 6).

Thirdly, while the aforementioned business requirements for the establishment of an alternative narrative cinema can mostly be met with digital technology, it remains questionable whether the current exhibition/broadcast mechanisms penetrate a wide enough market to sustain this movement. Therefore, although digital technology might be seen as an ideal mechanism for democratisation of cinematic production and consumption in post-apartheid South Africa, this technology should not be viewed as a means for independent filmmakers to make it alone. State support is still needed to maintain diversity and to support sustainability, because, while digital technology *has* made cinema somewhat more accessible, the production, distribution and exhibition of motion pictures in South Africa remains monopolised, exclusive and inaccessible to the majority. For example, in the case of cyber technology, while filmmakers might be able to load their products online for consumption, a marketing phenomenon is still required. One still needs to attract the public to a site and that is likely to require either collective or state assistance. While in Chapters Four and Five, I have explored my research objectives and questions in a detailed analysis of the film industry, in the following three chapters, I have furthered this inquiry through the analysis of three post-apartheid feature films: *Drum* (Maseko, 2004), *In My Country* (Boorman, 2004) and *Yesterday* (Roodt, 2004). To these case studies, I have applied the analytical framework established in Chapter Two.

Chapter Six: Textual Analysis of *Drum*

6.1. Chapter Overview

The following chapter provides an analysis of the film, *Drum* directed by the black South African filmmaker, Zola Maseko in 2004. The chapter is divided into two main parts. The first includes: a motivation for the selection of the text, background information pertaining to the subject of the film, an introduction to the filmmaker, details of the production context and the public reception of *Drum*. The second section provides a detailed textual analysis. Here I consider how the production conditions at hand, the creative vision of the director, and the cinematic text intersect, particularly with regards to characterisation, historical interpretation and the application of a formal structure to the narrative at hand. Through this process, I attempt to address the research objectives and questions outlined in Chapter One and in doing so, gain a deeper understanding of the significance of such cinematic choices in relation to the processes of national identity mediation, post-apartheid political ideology and transnational cinematic production and consumption.

Section One

6.2. *Drum*: Motivation for Selection

Drum was selected as a case study for this thesis for a number of reasons. Firstly, it was chosen because Maseko is one of the most prominent black filmmakers in the film industry and thus it might be connected to the advancement of new, previously marginalised voices in post-apartheid cinema. Secondly, as a film conceived and directed by an individual who was active in the anti-apartheid struggle, it is interesting to examine to what extent these political overtones are evident this production. Thirdly, as a relatively large-budget, multi-partnered international co-production, this film provides an interesting site to examine transnational production dynamics. Furthermore, since it is set in the 1950's, *Drum* is an interesting film for the study of historical representations. In this regard one might question whether Maseko has stuck faithfully to the period at hand, or if it has been subject to

reinterpretation and reinvention. Lastly, since the filmmaker was trained in the United Kingdom, there are likely to be multiple stylistic influences in his work and thus *Drum* is an exciting site to study hybridity both at an aesthetic level and in representations of race, language and society.

6.3. *Drum*: An Introduction

Drum is based on the life an investigative journalist, Henry Nxumalo (1917 – 1957). Nxumalo, or 'Mr Drum,' as he later came to be called, was the assistant editor of the *Drum* magazine of Johannesburg, which was one of the first magazines to cater specifically for black readers in South Africa. The film is set in the 1950's, in the township of Sophiatown, which was located on the outskirts of Johannesburg. *Drum* tells the story of this vibrant, artistic, multicultural space through the eyes of a black Sophiatown resident, Nxumalo. In this film, we encounter a dreamlike, carefree world, and meet cultural, political and 'gangster' notables. The apartheid authorities, however, could not allow this place 'of innocence' to remain, and as the film progresses, we watch them slowly chipping away at it, breaking it down, until we reach the climax of the film when Sophiatown is literally pulled to the ground. Watching this world through Nxumalo's eyes, the audience is exposed to the increasingly inhumane conditions of apartheid. We feel how these racist laws affected a person's everyday life including their living conditions, working conditions, freedom of movement and personal associations. It documents the human impact of apartheid, in particular the Group Areas Act of 1950, which led to the forced removal of residents from Sophiatown with this area having been 'rezoned' for White residents.

Director Zola Maseko co-wrote the original screenplay of *Drum* with Timothy Grimes. Their contribution, however, remains unacknowledged, with Jason Filardi being accredited as the official screenwriter. The narrative is told in the form of a thriller, with the ultimate fate of Sophiatown and the protagonist himself always remaining under threat. The film also has melodramatic undertones, which surface in the character-driven subtext that follows the transformation of the lead character Nxumalo from a fun-loving carefree playboy to a conscious, committed husband and politicised agent of change in his community.

6.4. Zola Maseko: An Introduction

Zola Maseko, the son of ANC parents, was born in exile in 1967. He spent a large part of his childhood in Swaziland and Tanzania, where he attended the ANC run *Solomon Mahlangu Freedom College* (2008: pers. comm.). Here, he worked in the video unit, starting off as a still photographer, and later making video recordings of the ANC's political and cultural events in East Africa. Once he had completed high school, he joined the ANC military wing, the Mkhonto we Sizwe (MK) and trained in Angola for one year (Ibid.). It was always his dream to be a filmmaker (McCluskey 2009: 112), and thus, in 1990, he applied to attend the National Film and Television School in the United Kingdom (Ibid.). His application was successful and from 1992 to 1994 he worked towards a post-graduate degree, specialising in documentary directing. At film school, he made a documentary called *Dear Sunshine* (1992) about a Nigerian entertainer in London and produced and edited *Scenes From Exile* (1993), a series of four short films about life in exile. His graduation film of 1994, a documentary called *Oupa, Pitso, Lenny and Me* (1994), investigates the experiences of three exiled former MK soldiers upon their return to South Africa.

In 1994 Maseko returned to South Africa, and shortly afterwards was given the chance to write and direct his first fiction film. Although Maseko has been formally trained as a documentary filmmaker, he explained that he had always been interested in fiction; this was his 'first love' (Ibid.). The film, *The Foreigner* (1996), is a 16-minute fiction film about xenophobia. It was a part of the M-Net New Directions series. In 1998, Maseko made the 52-minute documentary, *The Life and Times of Sara Baartman*, which won many awards including: Best Newcomer at the Cape Town World Cinema Festival Awards and Best Documentary at FESPACO (Festival Panafricain du Cinéma et de la Télévision de Ouagadougou/Panafrican Film and Television Festival of Ouagadougou**)**. This film is set between 1810 and 1815 and follows the story of Sara Baartman, a young Khoisan woman who was forcibly taken from the Cape to Europe where she was displayed in public 'freak shows' wearing no more than small apron to cover her private parts. The film highlights her humiliation and persecution at the hands of European, 'civilised' society, which was fascinated by her large buttocks and genitalia. In 2002, Maseko made another documentary, the *Children of the Revolution.* This film is a similar concept to *Oupa, Pitso, Lenny and Me*

(1994), but it covers a greater number of exiled individuals and follows them over a longer time period of 6 years 'to find out whether they had been able to achieve their aspirations upon returning' (Ibid.).

Following these documentaries, Maseko made a second fiction film for M-Net New Directions: a 29-minute short called *A Drink in the Passage* (2002). This film is an adaptation of an Athol Fugard story about a black sculptor who enters the South African Golden Jubilee competition of 1960 and wins. However, the authorities will not award him the prize of 1000 pounds because of his skin colour. In 2002, he released a further documentary on Sara Baartman entitled *The Return of Sara Baartman* (55 min). In this film, Maseko follows the return of Baartman's remains from Paris to South Africa and the subsequent official burial that they received. In 2003, he also wrote a television series, *'Homecoming'*, which was screened on the SABC. This series traces the lives of three former freedom fighters in their attempts to re-establish themselves in the new South Africa after years living in exile. In 2004, Maseko completed his first feature film, *Drum*, which won the Golden Stallion, the top award at Africa's prestigious FESPACO in 2005. This is the only South African film to date to have received this award. The film was also in the official selection at the Toronto Film Festival, the London Film Festival, the Sundance Film Festival and The Critics Week at the Cannes Film Festival.

Thus, it is clear that Maseko is a successful and prolific South African filmmaker. He is also one of the 'new voices' that characterise the post-apartheid film industry (Botha 2005: 2), being part of a new generation of black feature filmmakers such as Ntshavheni Wa Luruli (*Chikin Biznis - The Whole Story*, 1998 and *The Wooden Camera* 2003), Akin Omotoso (*God is African*, 2003), Ramadan Suleman (*Fools*, 1998 and *Zulu Love Letter,* 2004), Khalo Matabane (*Conversations on a Sunday Afternoon*, 2005), Madoda Ncayiyana (*Izulu Lami*, 2009) and Norman Maake (*Soldiers of the Rock*, 2003) (Ibid.). As Maseko explained, these pioneering filmmakers face the task of starting a new filmmaking tradition: 'my generation of black filmmakers is the first generation of black filmmakers in the history of South Africa, and we are ten years old, so there is no tradition. There is no track record. We are making the rules as we go along' (McCluskey 2009: 112).

From the politicised nature of the documentaries, shorts and feature film listed above, it is clear that Maseko is a filmmaker with a vision. In his interview with Audrey McCluskey, he explained that Spike Lee had been a big influence and that filmmaking for him, 'is about telling our stories from our perspectives and celebrating blackness, our heroes, our history. I like the idea of putting up our values, our stories, our legends instead of having our kids adopt Hollywood-inspired heroes and values' (2009: 113). In terms of the film *Drum,* Maseko explained in a qualitative interview, that he wrote this film because he was inspired by stories that he had heard about the 'Drum' era and the legendary Sophiatown from people in London who were living in exile. Whilst in London, he met writers and musicians like Hugh Masekela and Lional Ngakane, who had been active in Sophiatown in the 1950's. From these discussions and further research that he conducted, he believed that there was much that the new South Africa could learn from this historical period:

> In 1994, history had brought us to a time and a place where we had a moment of self-definition. Finally, South Africa was a democracy, Apartheid was over, but what did that mean for us? Where were we going? … What were we trying to build? And the inspiration for it [*Drum*] was looking back into our own past and finding inspiration that would help us with this. And I just felt that Sophiatown, almost 50 years ago, had also come to this juncture with history, where as black people there was a definition or a self-defining renaissance and a definition of what it meant to be black and this renaissance expressed itself musically, in literature, in journalism, in politics, in clothing and fashion. There was just this whole period where black people, particularly urban black people were making a mark and saying 'This is who we are!' and I wanted to revisit that era, and hopefully it would inspire this new generation of South Africans basically to find materials in our own pasts, and to not keep looking outside or abroad or to the West for models, but to find our own inspiration. (2008: pers. comm.)

In the following analysis, I examine to what extent Maseko's vision as the director of *Drum* has influenced the way in which this narrative is constructed and this historic period is remembered.

6.4. The Making of *Drum*

Initially, *Drum* was going to be a six-part television series called *Sophiatown Short Stories*. Maseko's plan in this series was to tell the story of Sophiatown using the Drum journalists

as the focal point. These people, he believed, were the best vehicles to carry the narrative because they literally recorded, photographed and 'captured the magic that was happening' (Ibid.). In this television format, Maseko planned to follow the lives of three journalist friends: Can Themba, Todd Matsikhiza and Henry Nxumalo (Barlet 2005: online resource). However, when he was unable to secure funding from the SABC, he decided to rather make a feature film and to centre this film on a single character, Henry Nxumalo. In an interview with Barlet at FESPACO in 2005, Maseko explained:

> I chose Henry Nxumalo to be the character of the film [because] he became "conscientised"… He was the most interesting vehicle to see this place. His personal internal journey was very interesting. Originally, my idea was to make the film about three friends: Can Themba, Henry Nxumalo and Todd Matshikiza … But, it was too much for 90 minutes. (Interview with Barlet 2005: online resource)

Following the SABC's rejection of the series, Maseko struggled for eight years to secure finance to make his feature film in South Africa. After all his efforts, he was still only able to raise 40 percent of the funds locally, and thus he went abroad to find money. In the end, the film was financed using South African, American and German money (2008: pers. comm.). When I queried who the local investors were, Maseko explained that the film was financed by the IDC and the NFVF. The money received from the NFVF however, was just 'a pittance' (Ibid). In his interview with McCluskey, he expressed dissatisfaction with the limited finance of the organisation: 'everyone gets ten bucks, ten bucks, ten bucks, because they have to spread it out evenly. You can't make a film with ten bucks, you know. It's just seed money. You can then go out and try to raise money elsewhere' (2009: 115).

When asked about his views on international co-productions, Maseko stated that most of the films of 2004, which was South Africa's biggest filmmaking year, were co-productions, because, unless one makes a very small budget film, which is unlikely to compete internationally, one has to raise money abroad (Ibid.). Therefore, he believes that South African filmmakers are almost 'forced into co-productions' (Ibid.). Maseko found, however, that although the additional finance allowed him to make an internationally competitive

film, the production partnership involved making compromises, particularly when it came to casting:

> It's a choice you have to make. When budgets get above a certain level, a committee comes in. We went above this certain budget. I believe that the contradiction between money and art is inherent in filmmaking. As in South Africa we still cannot fund fully our own films. A co-production is a compromise. At the end of the day, the Americans come with their conditions. I feel I learned how the system works. I don't think I want to do it again: that's the lesson I learnt from it. But I also learn that, as a filmmaker, if you go the American route, you have to pay your juice. It's up to me: if I want to make a big budget film, these are the conditions. (Interview with Olivier Barlet 2005: online resource).

Thus, Maseko's co-production experience with *Drum* was not easy. He was clearly unhappy with the creative compromises that he was obliged to make, in particular the casting of American stars Taye Diggs and Gabriel Mann and British star Jason Flemyng in the principal roles of Henry Nxumalo, Jürgen Schaderberg and Jim Bailey respectively. Maseko noted with irony that at the film's premiere in Toronto, Taye Diggs said that the main role should have gone to a South African because the local cast 'really showed us [the foreigners] up' (Ibid.). Nevertheless, he argues that he could understand why the foreign partners 'were not ready to go with an unknown South-African director *and* an unknown South-African cast. To protect their investment, they wanted a known lead. I could accept that. I think he [Diggs] did a really good job, I really do' (Ibid.).

Thus, working within a co-production partnership can lead to certain complications and compromises when it comes to the creative vision of the director: 'it's a really tight rope to walk because you are using other people's money to tell your stories' (McCluskey 2009: 114-5). This, Maseko argued can have notable implications for the way in which a story is told and how the people therein are portrayed (Ibid). One of the clearest examples of such, is Armada Picture's insistence that Maseko and Grime's script be re-written by Hollywood screenwriter Jason Filardi to further align the story with mainstream structures and standards. Nonetheless, Maseko argues that the partnership was his choice, and 'to be fair to them, the biggest battles were in casting,' and besides this aspect, 'they let me do it my way' (Interview with Barlet 2005). Maseko told Barlet that *Drum* was designed by four

people: (1) himself, (2) the Director of Photography (Lisa Rinzler), (3) the production designer (Eggert Ketilsson) and (4) the first assistant director (Rod Smith). He explained that the team spent months before the shoot 'looking for the locations, planning the shots' and deciding 'how it was going to look' (Ibid.). When it came to editing the film, Maseko 'had director's cut and the partners had final edit. There were a few disagreements in the final film: my cut came to about 110 minutes [the final cut is 94min], there was one scene that was cut out, and two scenes had been shortened.' (Ibid.). Despite these changes, Maseko is sure to confirm that *Drum* is indeed his film.

6.5. The Release and Reception of *Drum*

Drum premiered at the Toronto International Film Festival on 10th September 2004. It was also screened at the Sundance Film Festival on the 20th January 2005, at the Cannes Film Festival in May, at the Boston International Film Festival on the 21st June and at the Munich Filmfest on the 25th June. In 2004, it premiered at the Cape Town World Cinema Festival. As discussed above, *Drum* received numerous awards at these festivals. On the 22nd of July, it received a general release in South Africa, showing at 27 cinema theatres. It also received a wide release in Europe. However, in America, the producers failed to secure wide distribution, and thus, the film was released straight onto DVD.

Despite winning numerous awards at international festivals, *Drum* was not a hit at the mainstream box office. If one looks at the local box office and attendance figures, for example, one finds that they are relatively low, being below R1 million (917.368.00) in total, and the film receiving a mere 66,993 attendances. Since it is difficult to find reliable international box office figures for the film, I asked Maseko whether *Drum* had performed well internationally. He replied, 'no, we didn't. *Drum* didn't do anything abroad!' (2008: pers. comm.) It is difficult to ascertain why the film's performance was so poor. Perhaps this is the result of the producers' failure to secure a wide theatrical release in the US, because, given Armada Picture's major role in the film, this was certainly intended to be one of *Drum's* major markets. On the other hand, maybe the film would have faired better if a greater percentage of black South Africans had had access to it. This audience, after all, according to Maseko, was the intended market for all of his work, 'regardless of the fact that

they cannot see [the films] at the present moment' (Maseko quoted in McCluskey 2009: 116).

Drum has also had a mixed reception from critics. For example, Maseko explained that at one festival someone criticised the film for not being 'African enough' (McCluskey 2009: 115). He argued that this comment revealed an inherent prejudice that many hold when it comes to African culture. People associate Africa with:

> Jungles, women with naked breasts, dancing and people coming out of caves: that's the Africa that appeals to them. Now, when you show them 1950's Johannesburg, and you show them black journalists and gangsters and politicians and sophisticated industrialized people … they can't fathom that. (Ibid.)

While Maseko views the representation of black people in this film to be progressive, others, however, have made strong objections to his representation of certain characters. John Matshikiza, in particular, described the film as 'glossy and hollow' and argued that Maseko portrayed his father – the musician, composer and journalist Todd Matshikiza – as 'an intellectually-challenged coon' (Khumalo 2009: online resource). Dearham was also unconvinced by *Drum*. He questioned if it was indeed 'a true indication of the new renaissance of South African culture expressed on film,' or whether it was an example of how 'South Africaness' had been packaged for overseas consumption (2008: oral presentation). A further area of criticism has concerned accuracy, with many of the historical references presented in the film being out of sync with what actually occurred in this period. For example, Davie has questioned why Maseko chose to Bailey cast as the editor in this film when he was in fact the owner of *Drum* and Anthony Sampson was the first editor (Davie 2005: online resource). In the analysis of *Drum* that follows, I will draw on these criticisms, the production context of the film and Maseko's vision outlined above, and relate them to specific examples from the film. In the process, I will pay particular attention to questions of identity, representation and mediation within the transnational networks of film production, circulation and consumption.

Section Two

6.6. Filmic Analysis

Drum opens with gentle, ambient, guitar strumming and percussive accompaniment. A legend reading: 'Sophiatown, Johannesburg, South Africa, 1955. Based on a true story,' sets the spatial and temporal context of the film. A sudden shift to a brutal boxing match interrupts this title sequence. The crowd cheers as one boxer hits the other repeatedly in the face. From the camera's perspective, it feels as if this violence is being directed at the viewer. There is a rapid switch to the bloody face of the opponent and then to three male spectators: two black and one white. The three stand on the edge of the ring, in front of the crowd, the white man taking photos and the other two in conversation. They speak about the fight, betting on who is going to win. When the prediction of the man in the black suit proves incorrect, the journalist turns to him and says, 'I think that you should stick to politics Mr. Mandela.' This opening scene is significant. Firstly, the text in the title sequence and the subsequent reference to Mandela (Lindane Nkosi) anchors the historical context of the film. Secondly, the attention given to the journalist, in this opening scene, suggests that he is the protagonist and that the story will be centred on him. Thirdly, the brutality of the match, together with the rapid (shot) sequences used by the editor, not only puts the audience on edge – into the nervous space of the thriller – but also warns of the impending violence. Since this violent behaviour is often directed at the camera, it suggests that the person through whom we look, Henry Nxumalo, will feel this brutality.

The references to history identified in the opening scene introduce the audience to the thriller genre in which this story is framed. Maseko's emphasis on realness and authenticity is further evident in the carefully designed costumes, motor vehicles and sets, which all make accurate references to the historical context. These historical references are indicative of Maseko's vision to use *Drum* as a mechanism of cultural memory to assist individuals in their participation in the nation (Sturken 1997: 20). By posting this story of a collective past in the public sphere, he attempts to inspire black South Africans to redefine themselves in the post-apartheid context through materials drawn from their history (Maseko 2008: pers. comm.). In writings on cultural memory, Sturken argues that 'memory forms the fabric of

human life … [it] establishes life's continuity; it gives meaning to the present, as each moment is constituted by the past. As the means by which we remember who we are, memory provides the very core of identity' (Sturken 1997: 1). Furthermore, when images portrayed coincide with traumatic events in history – such as apartheid brutality highlighted in *Drum* – then such images can play a 'central role in the construction of national meaning (Sturken 1997: 26).

However, while the reconstruction of traumatic events on film might be central to the development of national identities and national meanings, such events present a paradox because 'they cannot simply be forgotten and put out of mind, but neither can they be adequately remembered' (White 1996: 20). In other words, the meaning of such events cannot be unambiguously identified and contextualised in 'group memory in such a way as to reduce the shadow that they cast over the group's capacities to go into the present and envision a future free of their debilitating effects (Ibid.). Therefore, orthodox historical mechanisms are often found to be inadequate in the remembering of such events and new approaches and technologies need to be applied (White 1996: 20-21). This is the case in *Drum*, which can be seen to present a reinterpretation of orthodox recordings of this period in South African history. This is evident in the seamless juxtaposition of fact and fiction in the film where the details frequently differ from the recorded history of the time. This can be viewed as an example of a 'post-modern' or 'modern' history, where in response to the problems posed by traditional realism regarding how to 'represent reality realistically,' artists have simply abandoned 'the ground on which realism is construed as an opposition between fact and fiction' (White 1996: 18).[63] In such approaches, rather than focusing on historical objectivity, a filmmaker highlights the meaning of an event. This is also known as 'historical relativism' (White 1996: 21). By doing so, a filmmaker invokes a historical period and attempts to capture the audiences' imagination and cultural memory.

If one examines how memory is portrayed in *Drum*, one finds that there are a number of significant trends when it comes to the representation of Sophiatown. Firstly, there is a tendency to show Sophiatown as a place of fun, laughter, music and freedom. This is apparent in the second scene of the film, where journalist, Henry Nxumalo (Taye Diggs)

[63] In article, 'The Modernist Event,' Hayden White (1996) uses these terms interchangeably (18)

and photographer, Jürgen Schadeberg (Gabriel Mann) stumble out of a shiny, red car into a jiving Sophiatown night. As they approach the *shebeen* (informal drinking tavern), the first person voice of Nxumalo informs the viewers about his love for this multi-racial township where he dances the nights away. 'Drinking without a thought of my job at the magazine, or my wife or my family.' From the dark night the companions step into the hazy, smoky, colourful world of the *shebeen*. A multitude of coloured lights and sparkly fabrics meet the eye. Inside they find a group of journalists from the *Drum* magazine including Can Themba (Tumisho Masha) and Todd Matshikiza (Fezile Mpela). The music is loud and lively. People dance. A sexy black singer reminiscent of Miriam Makeba entertains onstage. Drinking neat whisky, the journalists make a toast to life, sharing their motto with the newcomer, Can Themba, 'live fast, die young and leave a good-looking corpse.'

There is a distinctly 'Harlem-look' to these scenes. This is evident in the 1950's style costumes of the black men and women and the jazz being played by the musicians. Maseko explained that this connection is intentional: 'the fifties were just after the Second World War. A lot of black people joined the army, and they got a worldview, with movies, jazz, clothes, etc. South Africa was opening up to world influence' (Barlet 2007: online resource). US influence was evident in fashion, music and politics, with the black working class being inspired by the political struggle of the US (Ibid.). The colourful, glossy and dynamic visual aesthetic of these opening scenes is a further striking feature of the film. This slick aesthetic, together with the references to Harlem, might be read as evidence of American involvement through Armada Pictures. However, it would seem that the director was happy with this 'US-style' aesthetic, since he proudly stated upon winning the Yennenga D'Or at FESPACO, that he was able to create a movie that looks like a Hollywood film on a low budget – a feat that African filmmakers should all aspire to (Davie 2005: online resource). However, critics have been less convinced:

> How excellent it could have been if the image was less polished and the general aesthetic of the film a bit less anchored in the sepia mood of sophisticated sets that take us more into a film of fine-cut historical reconstitution than into a true intimacy with the topic! The energy of the direction and the multiplicity of the themes addressed struggle to burst through the shiny surface in which the film is imprisoned, reinforced by the aesthetical references to American film noir to give a 50's touch and maintain the suspense. (Barlet 2007: online resource)

Nevertheless, while the clean lines and dramatic contrasts of the images might be seen as a reference to American Noir, and thus a further link to 1950's America, a local aesthetic is being invoked here too, since many of the exquisite images are exact replicas of Jürgen Schadeberg's original photographs. These images connect the film to Schadeberg's documentary *Have you Seen Drum Recently?* (1988), which features original photographs, as well as some of the only existing video footage of Sophiatown from Lionel Rogosin's *Come Back Africa* (1959).

This documentary makes an interesting comparison to *Drum*. Firstly, although the strong musical element of *Have you seen Drum Recently?* effectively 'lightens' and enlivens the topic at hand, it presents a far less romanticised view of this period. For example, if one compares the introductory sections of the two films, one finds that while Schadeberg makes extensive reference to the squalor of Sophiatown and the impact of apartheid on a black person's day-to-day life, *Drum* on the other hand, highlights Nxumalo's fun in Sophiatown, and then follows him home to his modest, but comfortable home. In fact, if one examines *Drum* as a whole, one finds that unlike *Have you seen Drum Recently?*, it does not show a single image of poverty in Sophiatown, or the infamous 'black' public transport system of the time. This romanticised vision is emphasised by the glossy, colourful aesthetic used in the film. It is interesting to question what the significance of this rosy perspective might be. Is it for the benefit of foreign audiences who do not want to be faced with humiliation and suffering? Or, is this the memory that Maseko wished to invoke in his vision to inspire the new generation? Is this positive recollection of a multi-cultural place where black people were empowered and black culture thrived connected to Maseko's vision?

In addition to introducing the viewer to the colourful, romanticised world of Sophiatown, the first-person thoughts of Henry Nxumalo, and his centrality in the action, serve to emphasise his position as the main protagonist of the film. This central character is indicative of the restorative narrative that has been adopted: the standard structural model of mainstream Hollywood films (Dancyger and Rush 2002: 19). In accordance with this convention, the primary means for audience identification is through the main character and his dilemma and the film is divided neatly into three separate acts (Dancyger and Rush 2002: 4; 19). If one examines *Drum* as a whole, one finds that Nxumalo is so central in the

film that the only scene in which he is 'absent' is his funeral procession at the end, where he is arguably still present as a martyr. The adoption of restorative conventions distinguishes *Drum* from *Have you Seen Drum Recently?*, which, rather than focusing on one individual, highlights the contributions of a multitude of individuals from this period including: Ezekiel Mphahlela, Abrahams, Casey Motsisi, Can Themba, Todd Matshikiza, and Benny Gwgwi.[64]

Nxumalo's character is developed in this second scene of the film, which, as mentioned above, is set inside a *shebeen*. His carefree, playboy attitude is evident in his personal thoughts, his heedless drinking and his flirtatious encounter with the sexy singer, Dara Macala (Bonnie Mbulo). Into this carefree scene, walks a group of gangster characters boasting American suits and snazzy ladies. Their arrival, adds an element of danger to the otherwise rosy setting. Nxumalo approaches them and speaks to the leader, Alpheus (Bonginkosi Dlamini aka Zola). He explains that his boss has asked him to do a gangster piece and ask if they can meet to speak about this the following day. Alpheus agrees. Suddenly there is an urgent cry: 'Police! Hide your drinks!' The dreamlike world is broken and everyone scurries out of the back door. Even the tough gangster, Alpheus, reluctantly takes a last sip of his drink and makes his way out. This fear of police authority serves to remind one the brutal apartheid context in which the film is set. One wonders how long this happy, carefree, world of Sophiatown can survive in this setting.

Nxumalo makes his way home. He lives on the outskirts of Sophiatown in a newly built neighbourhood. In contrast to the lively, colourful shebeen scene, this is a dark, quiet space. Inside a small building we find his wife, Florence, (Moshidi Motshegwa), sleeping soundly. He wakes her up gently, and she asks somewhat sarcastically 'Another late night at the office?' he replies 'Yes, deadlines, deadlines …' One can see that he wants to make love to her, but she replies sleepily that she has an early morning. The intimacy between the couple is quite ironic and unsettling following the hot scene between Nxumalo and Dara just a few minutes beforehand. It suggests that the protagonist, at least at this point in the narrative, is self-absorbed, uncommitted and unconcerned about the long-term consequences of his actions. This personification is developed in the subsequent scene in the *Drum* office. The

[64] These were all notable journalists that wrote for the *Drum* magazine.

image shifts to a pair of shiny high-heels. The camera moves slowly up two long, dark legs, reaches a very short, tight, pink dress, and then continues to move up the torso to meet the smiling face of an attractive, black model. She stands on a stool in the middle of the *Drum* office amongst a crowd of men who pretend to inspect her health by measuring her thighs and listening to her heartbeat. The photographer, Schadeberg, records this risqué scene. The jiving, township jazz, the tone of the scene and the fun, bright colours immediately connect this space to the *shebeen* of the previous night. Nxumalo arrives, and instead of reprimanding his colleagues for their 'misbehaviour', he jumps straight in himself, flirting outrageously with the model and suggesting that she spend a week in bed with him to recover from her [imaginary] illness. Bailey, the editor (Jason Flemyng), comes out of his office and comments sarcastically that he is glad that Nxumalo 'can make it to work' in between his shots of bourbon. This scene serves to develop Nxumalo's playboy character, suggesting that similar to his attitude towards his role as a father and a husband, he does not take his position as a journalist very seriously. Partying is far more important to him. This characterisation serves as a point of contrast for his later development in the film.

Next we find Nxumalo, Schadeberg and Alpheus speaking on an elevated veranda in Sophiatown. As Alpheus discusses the terrible prison conditions in 'Number 4' (Johannesburg central prison), suggesting that Nxumalo write something about it, a group of men can be seen approaching them on the road below. One of them calls out to Alpheus, challenging him to come down to the road. They start to argue in a mixture of Zulu, Afrikaans and English, a kind of *tsotsitaal*. A crowd gathers. Schadeberg photographs every move. The opponent challenges Alpheus to a fight to the death. He is unwise to suggest this, because Alpheus is much faster than he, and stabs him fatally several times in the chest. Alpheus walks off coolly, shouting out to Nxumalo 'Let's get out of here … this place fucking stinks!' The scene ends with him dropping Nxumalo off that night. He warns him that he does not want to read anything about the fight in the press. Nxumalo assures him that he will not. This scene serves to warn the viewer of the lethal danger of township life. Alpheus's warning to Nxumalo introduces an element of jeopardy to this thriller. What will happen to Nxumalo if the pictures of the fatal fight are published?

Like the majority of films made under unofficial co-production arrangements, *Drum* is primarily in English. Therefore, the use of *tsotsitaal* in this scene is significant. However,

since this dialect is unsubtitled, it remain unintelligible to most viewers and thus it serve to add 'cultural flavour' rather than to drive the narrative forward. The almost exclusive use of English in this film, particularly in dialogues that would naturally have been in Zulu, arguably contradicts Maseko's appeal to authenticity and makes such sections seem staged and unconvincing. This is augmented by the frequent use of clichéd dialogue. For example, on the morning following the fight, Nxumalo and his wife have a conversation in which she urges him to use his position as a journalist to make a difference in his community. 'Look outside your window Henry Nxumalo!' she states. 'People are living with no electricity, without proper water, diseases. Crime is rife! You can do better than this. You have a voice. Use it!' Not only is this exchange in the unlikely tongue of English, but the words also sound more like a political lecture than an intimate conversation between a husband and wife. The predominance of English in *Drum* is a likely consequence of the film's intended overseas market. However, if one examines Maseko's repertoire, it is clear that he favours the use of English.[65] Thus, the linguistic choice in *Drum*, rather than being evidence of a forced compromise, might be indicative of his personal preferences as a filmmaker. Perhaps this is the medium that he feels most comfortable working in, given the fact that he spent his childhood years in the English-speaking territories of Swaziland and Tanzania and that he was trained in the National Film and Television School of the U.K. Therefore this linguistic choice might be viewed as an example of cultural hybridity in the transnational, global world.

Act Two opens with Nxumalo approaching the *Drum* office. Outside the front door, he is approached by an elderly black lady who informs him that her son has been missing for over a year. She suspects that he has been made a slave labourer on a potato farm, *Harmonie,* in the Bethal area of the Transvaal. She pleads with Nxumalo to help her find him. It appears that Florence's speech mentioned above has had an impact on him because Nxumalo decides to take action. He enters the office and approaches Bailey with the problem. He convinces Bailey to allow him to pose as a farm labourer on this farm so that he can investigate the story. In the following scene, Schadeberg drops Nxumalo off outside *Harmonie*. This image of Taye Diggs in with his white clothing, white bandanna and small

[65] Kindly refer to: *Pitso, Lenny and Me* (1994), *The Life and Times of Sara Baartman* (1998), *A Drink in the Passage* (2002), *The Return of Sarah Baartman* (2002) and his latest film, *The Manuscript of Timbuktu* (2008).

bundle of clothes flung over his shoulder entering the farm gates, is an example of an exact replica of one of Schadeberg's original photographs. This image is also used in the documentary *Have you Seen Drum recently?* Nxumalo proceeds to approach the farm office and to ask the menacing Afrikaans farmer for a job. The farmer agrees and then promptly tears up his pass (effectively making him an illegal worker). Nxumalo goes down to the fields and joins the labourers. They sing in unison as they work. A black man on a horse– the 'boss boy'– circles them, whipping anyone who appears to be slacking.

The movie then shifts to the *Drum* office. This scene is an example of how the main character of the restorative structure is built by highlighting the differences between him/her and the secondary characters in the film, who unlike the protagonist, do not receive transformation in the narrative (Dancyger and Rush 2002: 171). For example, while Nxumalo has changed and is now committed make a difference though his work, the other writers, on the other hand, lounge around at the office drinking whisky. When they learn of Nxumalo's whereabouts, they urge Bailey to save him, warning that the farmer will hang him if he is caught. The contrast in behaviour and their reaction to the news of Nxumalo's whereabouts, promotes the notion of a 'singular hero set against the world' (Ibid.). Furthermore, the suggestion that Nxumalo might be killed if the farmer discovers, marks the beginning of a series of statements that warn the viewer of Nxumalo's impending fate.

The following day Nxumalo is seen digging with the other men in the field. He suddenly freezes as his spade uncovers the finger of a corpse. A fellow worker warns him not to look. But he is unable to contain himself and asks to be taken to the boss. In the office he explains that the job is not for him. 'You lazy ungrateful kaffir!' the farmer exclaims and Nxumalo is chased off the property by the whipping horseman. In the nick of time, Schadeberg arrives to rescue him. What follows is a Hollywood-style car chase in which Nxumalo and Schadeberg are pursued by the horse rider and the farmer who shoots at them out the window of his truck. Although their car is hit, they escape unharmed. This scene reinforces our sense of the danger that Nxumalo now faces due to his passion and commitment. This farm sequence is interesting from the point of view of history and memory, because while the climax of this scene is Nxumalo's discovery of the 'dead finger' and the subsequent car chase, Schadeberg's original photographs for this story, on

the other hand, focus on the inhumane conditions of the day-to-day lives of the labourers. These photographs show labourers being 'whipped by the 'boss-boy' on horseback, eating dry porridge off filthy sacks, sleeping on concrete beds, being imprisoned by high concrete walls topped with barbed wire and accepting unjust contracts through the touch of a pencil (Sahistory 2009: online resource). These representations thus differ significantly from images chosen by Maseko in *Drum*, which are arguably far more sensationalist and 'American' in their focus on the vulnerability of one character, Nxumalo.

A lively Sophiatown party breaks the serious atmosphere of the film. The swinging music and colourful people return. On stage, Bailey congratulates Nxumalo on his outstanding work and officially renames him 'Mr. Drum.' The scene introduces a sub-plot of the film, the relationship between the black writer, Can Themba and a white, British girl, Carol Shand (Tessa Jaye). They meet at the party, are immediately attracted to each other and proceed to flirt and dance all night. The relaxed atmosphere of the party, however, is spoiled by the appearance of Dara, who spots Nxumalo and Florence dancing together. Florence notices her stares and grows uncomfortable. When Nxumalo sees Dara, he freezes, and cannot disguise the tension between them. Florence is quick to realise the situation and demands to go home immediately. She impatiently waits for Bailey to sign their pass (which requests that the authorities allow 'these Natives to pass because they were working late for me'). Nxumalo is infuriated by her lack of respect for his boss. In the car, she confronts him about the affair. However, he denies any association with Dara and threatens never to take her out again if she makes such accusations. Nxumalo's chauvinism, dishonesty and infidelity in this scene make him most dislikeable. Therefore, although he has shown considerable heroism at *Harmonie* Farm, at this point in the narrative the viewer still struggles to identify with him.

In the following scene, we meet Mandela once again when Nxumalo interviews him during a protest march. Mandela explains that he and others were going to march into the neighbourhood of Boksburg without their passes to be voluntarily arrested by the police. We see a group of policemen led by Major Spengler (Greg Melville-Smith). In this conversation, Mandela commends Nxumalo on his Bethal article, but warns him not to get himself killed, saying 'what South Africa needs are men not martyrs.' This warning serves as further hint of Nxumalo's impending fate. The subsequent scene in the *Drum* office is

devoid of the carefree colours and music of before. Instead, one finds Nxumalo locked in a serious conversation with Bailey. He convinces Bailey to allow him to be arrested in order to expose the infamous prison conditions of Johannesburg central (known as Number 4). As he is about to exit Bailey's office, Nxumalo spots Schadeberg being confronted by Alpheus for having printed the pictures of the fight in the previous issue of *Drum*. Alpheus questions Schadeberg about Nxumalo's whereabouts and warns that he is lucky that he did not kill him on the spot.

The next significant scene takes place in Nxumalo's house. He returns from work to find Florence waiting for him in a sexy, red satin dress. She has made him a romantic dinner. Nxumalo is about to relax when he spots a single pearl earring hanging from her ear. He is clearly startled when he recognises it as Dara's. Florence is quick to retort 'What's the problem? Cat got your tongue?' She then proceeds to dish him up his favourite beef stew and watches him in a thick, uneasy silence as he eats. It is clear that the pearl earring (that she had found in his pocket in an earlier scene) has been worn deliberately to show him that she is aware of his and Dara's affair. The following morning, Schadeberg and Nxumalo are sitting in the car outside the police station when Nxumalo asks his friend whether he ever thinks of getting married. Schadeberg replies by questioning whether Nxumalo would recommend it. Nxumalo answers that he does, but 'not to a guy like me.' This conversation is significant since it indicates that Florence's plan the previous evening has worked. He can no longer continue his affair oblivious to her feelings and to the harm that it is doing to his marriage. These two scenes mark the beginning of the end of Nxumalo's affair with Dara. This is important, because his infidelity had been a major obstacle to the audience's identification with him until this point. Their empathy lay more with Florence, the betrayed (Dancyger and Rush 2002: 157).

Following this conversation, Nxumalo climbs out the car and what follows is a ridiculously overacted somewhat comical scene in which he pretends to be drunk. Nxumalo shouts obscenities at two policemen standing outside the station and then grabs hold of a lady who is passing by. This stunt effectively gets him arrested. This scene is arguably one of the most problematic in the film. It is indeed most puzzling why Maseko/Filardi chose for Nxumalo to be arrested in this manner. Such behaviour in the presence of the police would lead to a person being arrested in almost any democratic country. However, under the restrictive

apartheid system, black people were arrested for the most ordinary behaviour. Thus, in this regard, *Have you Seen Drum Recently?* provides a much more convincing portrayal of the unfair legal system of the time, by focusing on the mass arrests made during the Defiance Campaign of 1952. It is ironic that *Drum* makes reference to such mass arrests in the earlier scene with Mandela and the protestors who were voluntarily arrested for not carrying a pass.

The narrative shifts to a scene in the *Drum* office. Schadeberg announces 'He is inside!' Shocking scenes of the brutal, inhuman conditions of Johannesburg prison, follow. These are interspersed with Nxumalo's thoughts about his experience as he writes for *Drum*. Interestingly, the film shows Schadeberg taking the photos of these scenes, when in fact; Bob Gosani took the original photos. This is an example of how narrative simplification for dramatic purposes can result in the historical contributions of other individuals being effectively forgotten. Nxumalo goes on to explain that while in jail, he realised that the prison system was a microcosm of apartheid and that the dehumanising tools used there were no different to the unjust apartheid laws. This marks the mid-point in the film, and is an important milestone in Nxumalo's politicisation as a character. He is now fully aware of the extremity and cruelty of the apartheid system. This is a point of no return. He is a changed man and is truly committed to the struggle against apartheid.

The tension of the prison scene is broken by township jazz in a *shebeen* where one finds Nxumalo, Schadeberg, Bailey, Can and Carol celebrating the success of the prison story. Despite the occasion, the mood is rather serious. The original carefree atmosphere of the *shebeen* has not returned. When Can and Carol go off to dance, Bailey warns the others about the consequences of this 'mixed-race' relationship. 'Can needs to watch out! He is heading for trouble!'. Nxumalo and Schadeberg are clearly on edge when Alpheus approaches the table and confronts them about publishing the story and the pictures of the fight. 'Why were these images not on the front cover?', he questions. While they are clearly relieved, Alpheus cautions Nxumalo that if he does not see himself on the cover of *Drum* soon then there could 'be a fatal accident' in his name. This death threat adds to the increasing tension surrounding Nxumalo's survival.

As the act comes to an end, one finds that the screenplay neatly provides further proof of Nxumalo's transformation as a character. As he is walking to the car with Schadeberg, he

remarks that he thought that he was a dead man when Alpheus confronted them and all that he could think about was Florence and the kids. Nxumalo then makes his way over to Daras's house, where he asks to speak to her outside. When he explains that he has a wife and a family, Dara realises that he is breaking off his affair with her, and she warns him that he will miss it. 'You and I are similar people. It is the things that make us forget life that we enjoy the most.' Nxumalo explains that he is not like that now; he 'cannot ignore the world around him anymore.' Dara then brings some official papers to show him. She has been ordered to evacuate her property. Nxumalo is dismayed. He promises to help her, exclaiming confidently as he exits: 'No one is going anywhere!' This scene is significant. Nxumalo's self-realization at this stage in the act marks an important point in the restorative three-act structure. This is 'when the character finally catches up to the viewer [and] finally realises his mistake, while we, the viewers, are finally satisfied that the character has come back to us. Frequently, this is the moment of highest identification. We are in sync with the character' (Dancyger and Rush 2002: 25). This scene also marks the beginning of the build up to the climax in Act Three when Sophiatown is destroyed.

The subsequent scene finds Henry at home. He wakes up Florence and apologises for being a bad husband. He assures her that it is over, and climbs into bed next to her to cuddle. The following day, Nxumalo and Schadeberg go to Johannesburg City hall disguised as property investors. They ask to be taken to the town planning office. The secretary shows them on the map the areas in the city that has been zoned for redevelopment. She points to Sophiatown, explaining somewhat simplistically, in her thick Afrikaans accent, that the plan is to bulldoze this neighbourhood and to build a new white neighbourhood on top. When she is distracted by the telephone, the two take the chance to steal the map and escape from the building. Their dangerous escape, the racy music and the confirmation of Nxumalo's suspicion, change the tone and pace of the film. The stakes are now much higher; the tone is more serious. Now Nxumalo will face his greatest challenge. At the closure of this act, the viewer is completely identified with the protagonist. He has revealed his true self, has transformed his bad behaviour and has shown courage (Dancyger and Rush 2002: 60). His display of heroism at the City Hall shows his willingness as a character to reassert his importance to the story. This propels us into the third act, where the lead character 'leads us, amazes us with resourcefulness, connects insight to success, and proves that once he has faced himself, he will triumph' (Dancyger and Rush 2002: 26).

Act Three opens in the *Drum* office. Bailey, Nxumalo and Schadeberg are involved in a serious discussion. Bailey says that the map is insufficient proof of the state's plan to demolish Sophiatown. They need further evidence before they can print the story. This is a major setback for Nxumalo who is hoping to publish a piece on the topic. Outside in the street we find Can and Carol chatting intimately. Suddenly the police arrive and grab Can roughly. They ask Carol whether 'this native' is bothering her. When she assures them that he is not her boyfriend but her driver, they let him go, but the atmosphere between the two of them is now tense. They have been confronted with the violent repercussions of their cross-racial affair. Subsequently, one finds Nxumalo playing with children outside his house while Florence sits on the steps watching them. The intention here is clearly to emphasise his renewed interest in his wife and family. However, Diggs's acting in this scene is very 'wooden' and unconvincing and the children also appear to be lost and ill at ease. Nxumalo settles down besides Florence and they talk about his plans to write about the demolition of Sophiatown and the injustices of apartheid. While Florence had previously spurred him on, her tone has now changed. She reminds him that he must be careful because has a family to care for. However, we know that Nxumalo has 'passed the point of no return.' He is committed to the struggle and his own personal relations, desires and life itself now take second place. A further warning arises in the following scene. Major Spengler finds Bailey working late in the *Drum* office. He tells him that *Drum* is pushing its luck by publishing articles on farm conditions and the prison and that if anything is published about Sophiatown the magazine will be closed down. The major reminds him, threateningly, that nothing happens in 'this town' without his knowledge. He continues to say that he is also well aware that one of the journalists is sleeping with a white girl and Bailey must just beware, because by granting his journalists freedom, he is simply letting his 'monkeys into the lion's den.'

The subsequent scene takes us to the heart of Sophiatown, where Schadeberg and Nxumalo are photographing and interviewing residents about their eviction from the properties that they have owned for generations. When they return to the *Drum* office with this material, they find that Bailey is not interested in the story. Nxumalo is quick to realise that the authorities have threatened him. Bailey warns him that he is putting both himself and the other writers in danger, and encourages him to go on holiday with his family. Nxumalo does not appear to be convinced. The following scene takes us to Can's bedroom. He lies in

bed with Carol laughing and kissing. Suddenly the door is bashed down and a group of policemen led by Major Spengler barge in. The couple is pulled naked from the bed and arrested. It is a significant scene, because it brings closure to this cross-racial affair, showing that the fantasy world of Sophiatown cannot survive under apartheid law. The cruel termination of this relationship also indicates that the numerous warnings to Nxumalo are far from hollow. His life may too be at risk.

Nevertheless, Nxumalo fights for his cause regardless. We witness him meeting Mandela and other political activists and involving Alpheus in a plan to spark off a protest against the forced removals. Nxumalo and Schadeberg 'just happen' to be in the area when the 'spontaneous' protest is held. Schadeberg captures the scene on camera, and they take the images to show Bailey at the office. Bailey is very impressed, and allows them to write a story. However, it is clear that their actions will have repercussions. When Nxumalo arrives home, he finds a house that has been ransacked and a most distressed wife. Florence cries out to him 'you protect everyone, but who is looking out for us? Who's looking out for us?' He attempts to comfort her, but in the early hours of the morning, repetitive, loud knocking awakes them. It sounds like the police. Florence is alarmed and urges Nxumalo not to get up, but he does not listen to her. He scrambles out of bed and opens the front door. It is Schadeberg and a friend. They have come to call him: 'Come quickly Henry! It is happening now!' The emotional tension in their voices indicates that we have reached the climax of the film.

The scenario switches to Sophiatown. People are running from their homes, crying and screaming. Others watch in disbelief as their worldly possessions – furniture, clothes – are roughly piled high onto trucks and horse carts. Major Spengler gives brash orders. No mercy is shown. Some attempt to stay in their homes but they too are thrown onto the street by the policemen. Sledgehammers are already bashing down the brick walls. It is all happening so fast. Schadeberg and Nxumalo move amidst this chaos absorbing it all, taking photographs, documenting everything. The white major spots them. He gives Nxumalo a stern look as if to say: 'you won't get away with this - you have now gone too far.' In the *Drum* office we find Nxumalo sitting alone, staring out into the darkness in disbelief. This is the aftermath of the climax. Bailey walks in and in a few minutes Schadeberg joins them. They did not know where else to go either. Nxumalo is clearly shattered. Bailey offers him

some whisky. They try to comfort him: 'you did what you could. You cannot change the system. You can only change peoples' minds and that you have already achieved.' Bailey wishes them good night 'see you tomorrow' he calls as he exits. Schaderberg offers to drive Nxumalo home, but he refuses 'No thanks. You go ahead. Perhaps tomorrow.' The second reference to 'tomorrow' puts the audience on edge. Will there be a tomorrow?

In the next scene, we find our protagonist walking home alone. As he enters a dark alleyway, we hear a voice call out to him from behind. 'Who's there?' Nxumalo responds anxiously. This is followed by Alpheus's unsettling reply, 'It really does not matter then does it?' Nxumalo is immediately afraid. He knows that Alpheus is up to no good. He attempts to talk him out of it, 'you know that I am not the enemy.' Alpheus says that he does, but this is not personal, 'I admire what you have been doing but I have been paid a lot of money to kill you.' Alpheus asks him not to run, but Nxumalo does not listen. Instead he attempts to trick Alpheus by running in his direction. This does not work, and he runs straight into his opponent's awaiting knife. Alpheus stabs Nxumalo repeatedly in the chest before he collapses onto the floor. The following morning Florence awakes to find that her husband is missing. She knows that something is wrong and make hers way over to the *Drum* office. Moments before her arrival, Bailey receives a phone call. As he is replacing the receiver, she enters. Bailey ushers her into his office and closes the door. It is clear that something has happened to Nxumalo. Schadeberg and the others watch through the glass as he breaks the terrible news to Florence. The silence is unbearable, the words being cut off by the dividing glass pane. Initially she shakes her head in disbelief, but as the truth sinks in she collapses onto the floor. When Schadeberg witnesses Florence embracing Bailey in grief, there is no doubt of Nxumalo's death, and he too starts to cry.

Despite the numerous warnings in the script, the death of the protagonist comes as a major shock. Aren't Hollywood films supposed to have happy endings? Does Nxumalo really deserve to die? Has he not redeemed himself? This confusion and disappointment is understandable since the restorative three-act structure ostensibly allows the plot to be built so that the self-realisation of the character can come before payback (Dancyger and Rush 2002: 23). Thus, heroes usually get away with their initial failures and viewers can indulge in upbeat, happy endings (Dancyger and Rush 2002: 26). The death in the film is made more confusing by the fact that if one looks at historical records, one finds that while Henry

Nxumalo was indeed murdered, his death only occurred in 1957, a full two-years after the apartheid government began to demolish Sophiatown. Why, then, did the filmmakers choose to make him die on the first night of the demolition? Was it to simplify the story and dramatise for the benefit of audiences? Or perhaps it is related to the character-driven nature of the restorative structure where the character and the plot are closely intertwined that 'the working out of the action is the simultaneous working out of the character' (Dancyger and Rush 2002: 21). By shifting Nxumalo's death to an earlier date, the filmmakers effectively tie his destiny and his spirit to the destiny of Sophiatown. They become inherently linked. The one cannot live without the other.

As the audience watches on in shock the filmmaker brings us to the final scene of the film - to the tragic chaos that is now Sophiatown. Bulldozers demolish buildings while Major Spengler marches up and down barking orders to the scurrying masses. Into this cheerless space moves a beautiful melody. It is a funeral procession led by a defiant Florence and her children. Behind them walk a large crowd of people, singing in unison. The major attempts to ignore them, frantically shouting out orders to keep the people working. His efforts are in vain. As the procession approaches, the destruction comes to a standstill; some policemen take off their hats in respect, and many individuals leave their tasks to join the procession in defiance. As they march through Sophiatown together, the camera rises above them, and the screen fades to black. This final scene is most significant, because it brings emotional catharsis to the audience. They have not been betrayed, the hero might have died but his death was not in vain. His memory will live on in the spirit of the people.

Thus, unlike Schadeberg's documentary, where the destruction of Sophiatown is mourned, Maseko's version of the tale effectively 'makes things better.' A requiem is transformed into a song of hope and freedom. However, South Africa was only seven years into apartheid and freedom was still thirty-nine years away. Furthermore, Nxumalo's death did not halt the destruction of Sophiatown or inspire a revolutionary defiance in the people. Therefore, this ending can indeed be viewed as revisionist. Like Spielberg, who attempted to 'rescue the real' in *Schindler's List* (Elsaesser 1996: 166.), Maseko can be seen to 'rescue' the memories of this time. Perhaps this choice is motivated by a desire to inspire present day black South Africans with the courage, togetherness and culture of the people

of Sophiatown. Or this happy ending might simply be viewed as a product of the restorative structure and as evidence of the American influences in this production. No structure, however, is neutral. 'Each form has a 'basic point of view that fundamentally determines how we understand the story' (Dancyger and Rush 2002: 31). Thus, the application of this narrative form can be seen to have a number of important consequences.

Firstly, the focus on a single character, particularly at the end of the film, effectively shifts the audience's focus away from the national tragedy to the martyrdom of this single man. One might question as Elsaesser did in his analysis of *Schindler's List*, whether one should view the positive ending as a 'concession to Hollywood,' or [as] an unforgivable insult' to those who suffered in this historical tragedy (1996: 163). Secondly, Nxumalo's position as the key character in this film requires his contribution to society to be emphasised and exaggerated and the efforts of his contemporaries to be downplayed and, in some cases, excluded. In her writing on memory, Sturken discusses how film, as a 'technology of memory', can be seen to sometimes function literally as a screen 'actively blocking out other memories that are more difficult to represent' (1997: 8). Dancyger and Rush also note that by focusing on a single protagonist, this form of scriptwriting 'doesn't account for the particular historical, social, political, economic, and familial circumstances that also condition fate. History, as an event or impersonal force, serves merely as a vehicle for psychological development' (Sturken 1997: 35). These writers further warn that using history as a backdrop for psychological development can allow barriers of race, gender, class, and history to be 'presented as secondary to the transcendence of individual will' (Sturken 1997: 36). In such a way 'we may find ourselves reinforcing, through the structure of our screenplays, the very conservative notions we wish to challenge in our stories' (Ibid.). It is interesting to question to what extent this occurs in *Drum*.

If one considers the national and international history of cinema, Maseko's choice to use a black person as the central protagonist is indeed quite progressive. His choice to stage the story within a group of black intellectuals makes it even more so, since it is more normative to focus on black gangsters.[66] Thus, Maseko is indeed successful in his vision to provide an

[66] This stereotype feeds into demeaning myths about black men. Hall (1997) explains that black characters in films are often shown to be violent, over-sexed and savage (251). This representational trend of constructing blacks as 'the other' was introduced by one of the most 'extraordinary and influential films of all time,

alternative to the dominant 'violent black male' stereotype. Nonetheless, there are significant references to this stereotype in the film. For example, there is the shocking violence of the opening boxing match, the fatal knife fight between two black gangsters and of course, the murder of Nxumalo. Furthermore, although the hero of this film is indeed an educated black man, if one considers the roles played by his fellow black cast one finds that they lack depth and agency with the narrative focusing rather on the two white foreign stars, Schadeberg and Bailey. Their world is the dominant temporality of the film. These are the only people in the film (with the exception of the apartheid police of course) that have any sense of agency or power. Nxumalo and Schadeberg are the heroes of the magazine, with Nxumalo in particular being the only one who conducts cutting-edge, revolutionary work. The other black journalists, on the other hand, including highly-acclaimed writers such as Can Themba, Todd Matshikiza and Casey Motsosi are shown to be disempowered, unmotivated and in many cases, lazy. Although they are featured in the film, with the exception perhaps of Can Themba, their lives are peripheral and the story is clearly not about them.

One could argue that the close friendship between Nxumalo and Schaderberg and interracial affair between Can Themba and Carol in the film might be read as an attempt to connect this historic period to the 'Rainbow Nation', multicultural discourse of post-apartheid South Africa. However, if one examines such relationships, one finds that this connection is not straightforward, because while the white Europeans are presented as active agents in the multi-racial, relatively progressive space of *Drum*,[67] this representation stands in stark contrast to the mean, unscrupulous, racist white South Africans featured in the film. While it is arguably appropriate to show the cruelty of the apartheid police and the farmer in this light, it is still an oversimplification since there were important white activists working at this time. These include: Ruth First, Helen Joseph, Joe Slovo and the liberalist writer, Alan Paton.[68] The omission of references to these activists relates to the

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Griffith's *The Birth of the Nation*' (1915) (Ibid.). Recent examples of such stereotypes in South African cinema include: *Tsotsi* (Hood, 2005), *Hijack Stories* (Schmitz, 2000), *Jerusalema* (Ziman, 2008) and *Mapantsula* (Schmitz, 1988).

[67] Here I am referring to Bailey and Carol who are British and Schadeberg who is German.

[68] Ruth First and her husband, Joe Slovo, were active members of the South African Communist party and were actively involved in the struggle against apartheid. Joseph was a founding member of the ANC's ally, the Congress of Democrats. Not only was Ruth a key agent in the formulation and deliverance of the Freedom Charter (1955), but she was involved in the organisation of the mass women's march of 1956 when 20 000

general historical simplification of the film in which the action has been condensed to fit the timeframe of a single year. The Defiance Campaign of 1952, the demolition of Sophiatown of 1955 and Henry's death of 1957, all appear to take place in 1955. Therefore, this artificial timeframe together with the restrictive 92 minutes of the feature film has resulted in the film excluding important political events and political figures. This has resulted in a somewhat skewed version of history with the contribution of many white and black activists going unmentioned.[69]

As mentioned above, this simplification of history might be read as a result of the character-driven nature of the restorative three-act structure, where emphasis is placed on a single character rather than on the wider historical and social context. This feature of the film can also be related to the export focus of the production, since local history has effectively been de-complexified for the benefit of foreign audiences. Thirdly, the representation of history in the narrative might be related to the conventions of the thriller genre (Dancyger and Rush 2002: 8). The thriller is plot-driven, with the emphasis being on the external rather than the internal life of the character (Dancyger and Rush 200291). This external focus results in thrillers typically portraying rather stereotyped, unconvincing characters (Dancyger and Rush 2002: 110). While *Drum* does indeed have certain melodramatic characteristics, with the internal transformation of the protagonist being highlighted, the influence of the thriller is evident in the emphasis on the plot and in the sometimes-problematic characterisations of secondary characters, discussed above. The main goal in the thriller is to survive (Dancyger and Rush 2002: 101). In the case of *Drum*, the focus is on Nxumalo and his struggle to survive in his fight against apartheid, which is personified in the figure of Major Spengler. If one approaches *Drum* from this angle, then one could argue that since Nxumalo has committed himself completely to the struggle against apartheid, the destruction that he wishes to avoid is his people's and not his own.

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woman marched to the houses of Parliament in Pretoria to protest against the restrictive pass laws that had been enforced. While Paton was not as radically involved, adopting more of a peaceful approach to the opposition to apartheid, he was the founding member of the Liberal Party that opposed the racism of apartheid, and his outspoken literary works, including *Cry the Beloved Country*, published in 1948, were banned under apartheid.

[69] Key political events that were excluded include: the reading of the Freedom Charter in June 1955 and the Women's march of August 1956. Furthermore, many key black activists of this era are not named such as Dr Moroko, (ANC president 1949-1953), Walter Sisulu (ANC secretary), Chief Albert Luthuli (ANC president 1953- 1967) and Oliver Tambo (founding member ANC Youth League).

Thus, he knowingly risks his life to expose the injustice and cruelty of the forced removals. Therefore, his death might be seen as triumph over the antagonist and as a confirmation of the narrative and generic conventions adopted in the film.

6.7. Conclusion

In conclusion, Maseko's appropriation of the restorative three-act structure in *Drum* is somewhat ironic given his open dislike for such formulas: 'I'm still learning as a filmmaker,' he stated, 'but I hate to be boxed, and I find those structures to be very pedantic and very boring … I'm trying to explore different ways of making films' (2008: pers. comm.). The mainstream narrative style used in *Drum* has attracted certain criticism. As mentioned in Section One, such criticism has been directed at the American-style of the film, the representation of key characters and the inaccuracy of the data presented. Sturken suggests, however, that such public disputes and contested meanings are integral to cultural memory's production of concepts of the nation and that examinations thereof can provide insight into how a national 'culture functions, how oppositional politics engages with nationalisms, and how cultural arenas such as art, popular culture, activism, and consumer culture intersect' (1997: 2-3).

Therefore, rather than attempting to judge whether Maseko's interpretation of this period is accurate or 'correct', in this review, I have examined how this film, as a hybrid product of consumer culture, intersects with the national identity of post-apartheid South Africa envisioned by the director. This approach is based on the premise that 'memory is a narrative rather than a replica of an experience that can be retrieved and relived' (Sturken 1997: 7). If one looks at the narrative told by Maseko, one finds that although he has explored a somewhat unconventional mix of fact and fiction in the narrative, rather than applying an equally innovative structure, he has chosen to tell this story through the comforting, restorative form of the realist three-act structure. While one might argue that this structural choice is an imposition of the foreign partners and an attempt to package South African product for mass consumption, if one relates it to Maseko's vision, a deeper layer of meaning is revealed. In writing about the film *JFK* by Oliver Stone (1991), Burgoyne argues that one can relate the structure of this film to the national identity or

national ideology of a country (1996: 113-114). In the case of *JFK*, the form applied is a post-modernist and highly fragmented form. This, he suggests, might be read as 'an expression of a national narrative in disorder and disarray, its collage-like narrative structure reflecting the disruption of the evolutionary or historical narrative that gives continuity to national identity' (Ibid.). Burgoyne suggests that this text therefore represents the 'fracturing of historical identity, the breaking apart of a once unified national text' (Ibid.). In applying this analysis to *Drum*, one could argue that the unity of structure – the focus on a single protagonist and the emphasis on an idealised historical society – is not coincidental, but is an example of how 'foreign' artistic forms can be domesticated to serve local needs. In this regard, these characteristics might be seen to be reflective of a national ideology that is attempting to bring cohesiveness and continuity to a severely divided society and a director's intention to inspire a sense of inclusivity, pride and strength within the black community of post-apartheid South Africa.

Chapter Seven: Textual Analysis of *In My Country*

7.1. Chapter Overview

This chapter provides an analysis of the film *In My Country* (2004), an international co-production based on the South African poetess, Antjie Krog's novel, *Country of my Skull* (1998). The subject of the film is the South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) that took place from 1995 to 2000. The film's director is the well-known British filmmaker, John Boorman and it stars Samuel L. Jackson, Brendan Gleeson and Juliette Binoche. The first section of the chapter includes: A motivation for the selection of the text, background information pertaining to the subject of the film, an introduction to the filmmaker, details of the production context and the public reception of *In My Country*. The second section provides a detailed textual analysis. Here I consider how the production conditions at hand, the creative vision of the director, and the cinematic text intersect, particularly with regards to characterisation, historical interpretation and the application of a formal structure to the narrative at hand. Through this process, I attempt to gain a deeper understanding of the significance of such cinematic choices in relation to the processes of cultural memory mediation, national political ideology and transnational cinematic production and consumption.

Section One

7.2. *In My Country*: Motivation for Selection

My choice to include *In My Country* as a case study for this thesis is motivated by a number of factors. Firstly, the subject of the film: the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) was a key event in the short democratic history of the country. Secondly, the concepts of reconciliation and *ubuntu* purported by this Commission are important to a study of national identity because they have been prominent discourses in the ideological

reconstruction of South Africa post-apartheid.[70] Thirdly, in terms of production contexts, I was attracted to this film it because it presents an opportunity to study the dynamics of representation within the context of a large-budget international, co-production that was directed by a well-known non-South African director and featured non-South African leads. Lastly, I thought that it might be interesting to examine how the TRC, and South Africa's associated democratic transformation has been mediated to international audiences in this hybridised form of filmmaking.

7.3. *In My Country*: An Introduction

In My Country is set in the early days of post-apartheid South Africa. Based on South African writer Antjie Krog's memoir, *Country of My Skull*, it tells the story of an Afrikaans poetess, Anna Malan (Juliette Binoche) and an American journalist, Langston Whitfield (Samuel Jackson) who worked as reporters during the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) hearings. This Commission was established by Nelson Mandela and led by Archbishop Desmond Tutu to assist in the transformation from apartheid to a democratic South Africa. Alistair Sparks explains:

> De Klerk and the Nationalist Party establishment wanted a general amnesty for everyone who had been involved in the political conflicts of the past. The liberation movements were not prepared to accept such a whitewashing of the past. So the matter went to the Negotiating Council where the parties eventually settled for a trade off – the exchange of truth for amnesty. Those who had committed atrocities could make the confessions and be indemnified from prosecution. Thus was born the Truth and Reconciliation Commission headed by the prince of compassion, Archbishop Desmond Tutu. (2003: 160)

In 1995, through the Promotion of National Unity and Reconciliation Act No. 34, the TRC was formed. It was mandated to focus on the gross human rights violations perpetrated in

[70] *Ubuntu* is 'the short-form of a widespread isiXhosa proverb in Southern Africa: *umuntu ngumuntu ngabantu*, which means 'A human being is a human being only through their relationship to other human beings' (Marx 2002: 52). While *ubuntu* was originally understood as a quality to 'be admired or encouraged,' it was reinterpreted under the TRC as 'an extant virtue or type of community' (Ibid.). Furthermore, in this context, it was integrated into a Christian-inspired ideology to promote healing and nation building (Ibid).

the period 1960-1994. It was effected through three committees: the Amnesty Committee (AC), the Reparation and Rehabilitation Committee and the Human Rights Violations Committee (HRVC) (University of the Witwatersrand nd: online resource). It has been recorded that over 22 000 victims of human rights violations made statements to the TRC, and more than 7 000 perpetrators applied for amnesty. Approximately 10 percent of the victims gave evidence at public hearings (Ibid.).

The public nature of the TRC hearings is one of the factors that distinguishes this Commission: 'unlike other truth commissions in countries such as Chile, Argentina and El Salvador which sat behind closed doors and kept their reports secret, South Africa's TRC was open to the public' (Sparks 2003: 161). The hearings occurred in the simple surroundings of community halls in the cities and small towns where the victims originated. Not only were the stories heard in public spaces, but the South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC) also provided live broadcasts on television and radio (Ibid.). The transportation of this forum to the public sphere encouraged debate and meant that the South African public were no longer able to 'deny atrocities of the past or to claim that they were not in a position to know. No longer were victims forced to carry the burden of their memories without public recognition and support' (University of the Witwatersrand nd: online resource). The public nature of the hearings captured the attention of the international media, with the TRC report, published in 1998, being acknowledged as 'one of the twentieth century's most historically significant documents' (Ibid.).

The TRC took place throughout the country. As the reporters and commissioners moved in convoy from one small town to the next, *In My Country* gives one the opportunity to explore the strikingly beautiful landscapes and cityscapes of South Africa. However, this beauty stands in stark contrast to the numerous cases of horrific human rights violations that are revealed at the hearings. The irony of such awful atrocities being committed against this beautiful backdrop is a major theme in the film. This idea is accentuated by the theme song, '*Senzeni na?*' which means 'What have we done?' in isiZulu. A second important theme is the concept of *ubuntu*, or 'African justice' as the film refers to it. *Ubuntu* was widely promoted by Archbishop Tutu and formed the foundational ideology of the TRC. In the film, this theme is explored on a national level through the TRC hearings and on an inter-personal level through the experiences of co-stars Binoche and Jackson.

In the title sequence of the film, the director promises to provide 'faithful' re-enactments of a number of cases that were reported in the Truth Commission. However, while the film does indeed draw on a number of such hearings, with a total number of five distinct cases being highlighted, the focus is not on these cases, but rather on the personal development of the two principle characters, Anna and Langston. In fact, the TRC serves as more of a backdrop to a story that is centered on Langston's struggle to come to terms with the concepts of forgiveness and *ubuntu* and Anna's shame as she discovers the dreadful human rights violations committed in the name of her people. When Anna and Langston meet, sparks fly. They appear to be opposites; he, as an African-American is in search of retribution and sees the TRC as an easy way out for white South Africans like Anna. She, on the other hand, is a firm supporter of the reconciliatory approach of the TRC and finds his attitude as an outsider arrogant and infuriating. However, as the horrifying details of apartheid are revealed, they become increasingly alienated from those around them and, in search of comfort and support, they find solace in each other's arms. Their cross-racial love affair serves as a symbol of the wider forgiveness and reconciliation that occurs in the film.

7.4. John Boorman: An Introduction

John Boorman is a filmmaker who was born in London on the 18th of January 1933. His first job in television was in Bristol, where he worked as an assistant for the BBC (Boorman 2003: online resource). By 1962, he was the head of the Bristol documentary unit, with one of his earliest contributions to the screen being the documentary series that he directed for television, *The Newcomers* (1964). In an interview with the actor John Hurt, Boorman explains how he was also an active contributor to BBC 2 when it was launched in 1964 (British Film Institute 2003: online resource). He notes that this channel supported some of his more experimental works including his first fictional film, *Having a Wild Weekend* (1965), which starred the Dave Clark Five band.

Following the success of a number of his BBC films in the United States, Boorman made his directing debut in Hollywood with the film *Point Blank* (1967). This film came to be recognised as 'one of the definitive Hollywood films of the late 1960's. In 1968, Boorman returned to the United Kingdom to make the well-known feature, *Leo the Last* (1970), a tale set in London, for which he won the Best Direction award at Cannes. In 1972, Boorman

directed *Deliverance* (1972), which was a great success, being nominated for three Oscars, including Best Picture and Best Director. In 1974, he made the film, *Zardoz* and, in 1977 *The Exorcist II: The Heretic*. His fame grew in 1981, with the making of *Excalibur,* for which he was nominated for a *Golden Palm* award at Cannes. He did not direct again until the film *Emerald Forest* in 1985. However, in 1987 he met success with the nomination of an Academy Award for his autobiographic story *Hope and Glory* (1987), which recounts his experiences as a child during the Second World War. In the 1990's, Boorman made numerous other films including *Where the Heart Is* (1990), *Beyond Rangoon* (1995), *Two Nudes Bathing* (1995), *Angela Mooney* (1996) and *The General* (1998). For *The General*, Boorman won the award for 'Best Director' at Cannes. Following this, Boorman made three films: *The Tailor of Panama* (2001), *In My Country* (2004) and *The Tiger's Tale* (2006).[71]

As one of Britain's most prolific and successful filmmakers, Boorman has sometimes been referred to as an auteur (Ciment: 1986; Gilchrist 2005: online resource). While one has to guard against the limitations of auteur theory, a discourse that often fails to consider the collaborative nature of filmmaking, it is interesting to discuss which qualities in his work have attracted this 'status'. Firstly, he is known to be 'one of the commercial mainstream's most independently minded directors' (New York Times nd: online resource). Secondly, he often manages to maintain a fair degree of control over his works, being the writer, director and producer of many.[72] Thirdly, although his repertoire is indeed most varied, it can still be seen to carry a number of binding characteristics. One is the use of metaphor and archetypal myths, in particular the myth of Arthur. For example, Walter Chaw argues that Boorman 'uses the Arthur myth as a template for each of his projects, weaving into them themes of people displaced, forced to confront their primal selves in primal environments in order to affect a reunion' (2005: online resource). In an interview with Chaw, Boorman confirms this trait and notes that he has 'always been interested in people put under stress the strain of unfamiliar circumstances' (Ibid.). Indeed, if one examines the core story of *In My Country,* one can relate it to this archetypal myth, since Anna and Langston are put in a stressful situation and are forced to confront their respective dragons. A further notable

[71] *Memoirs of Hadrian* and the *Wonderful Wizard of Oz* being set for release in 2010 and 2011 respectively.
[72] See: *The Tiger's Tale* (2006), *The Tailor of Panama* (2001), *The General* (1998), *Two Nudes Bathing* (1995), *Hope and Glory* (1987) and *Excalibur* (1981), for example.

characteristic is the use of specific actors in his films, leaving a 'personal signature' on his works. One such character is his son, Charley Boorman who acted in eleven of his films.[73] A second character is the Irish actor, Brendan Gleeson, who has acted in five of his films.[74] Boorman has also managed to make a number of 'freer' more experimental works such as the short films, *Two Nudes Bathing* (1995) and *I Dreamt I Woke Up* (1991). Moreover, he has been able to choose projects that are of particular interest to him. One growing area of interest, evident in his repertoire, are films dealing with socially conscious or political topics. These include *The Emerald Forest* (1985)*, Beyond Rangoon* (1995), The *Tailor of Panama* (2001), *In My* Country (2004) and *The Tiger's Tale* (2006). In an interview with critic Todd Gilchrist, Boorman explained that he does not believe that a film should be merely entertaining or artistically significant. Rather, films can also have cultural or historical relevance. 'More and more, I feel that I'm interested in making stories that have a political or sociological underpinning, that have some relevance, and importance even, dare I say' (Boorman cited in Gilchrist 2005: online resource).

Many of the above films take place in foreign countries such as Australia, Burma, Panama, Ireland, and, indeed, South Africa. Gilchrist noted, in the case of *In My Country*, that a 'lesser' director might have been intimidated with the emotionally charged subject matter and the unfamiliar context. However, he did not see this as an obstacle. With confidence, he explained that for him, there was 'never any kind of resentment about a foreigner coming in to make this story' (Ibid.). In fact, Boorman noted that if the film had been 'directed by a South African, it would have been in some ways more difficult for them, because every South African is coming from a certain position in opposition to other positions … I was an objective outsider and probably that was an asset' (Ibid.). This comment, together with his firm belief in the great importance of his film, has attracted a fair amount of criticism from academics and the press alike, who have objected to his self-proclaimed objectivity and importance (Evans 2007: 276).

7.5. The Making of *In My Country*

[73] See: *In My Country* (2004), *Beyond Rangoon* (1995), *Two Nudes Bathing* (1995), *Picture Windows* (1994), *I Dreamt I Woke Up* (1991), *Hope and Glory* (1987), *Emerald Forest* (1985), *Nemo* (1984), *Excalibur* (1981) and *Deliverance* (1972).
[74] See: *The Tiger's Tale* (2006), *In My Country* (2004), *The Tailor of Panama* (2001), *The General* (1998) and *Angela Mooney* (1996).

In My Country was written by Ann Peacock, a white South African filmmaker who has lived in the US since 1985. Peacock had written a number of stories on South Africa under apartheid before tackling Krog's semi-fictitious book.[75] In an interview, she explained how she was immediately captivated by the work and felt a strong connection with Antje Krog's personal struggle to come to terms with what whites had done under apartheid (DVD Commentary: 2004). However, Peacock did not find the script easy to develop. In fact, she describes it as the 'most painful thing' that she has ever written, and does not intend to attempt anything as painful again (Ibid.). Perhaps this is why her more recent films have not been about South Africa and tend to tackle somewhat 'lighter topics.[76] Nevertheless, *In My Country* (2004) was an important film for Peacock, with her central aim being to make people aware of the peace commission in South Africa and a process, 'where people tried to make peace instead of taking revenge for past wrongs' (DVD Commentary: 2004).

In My Country was adapted for the screen by Anne Peacock from Krog's book, *Country of My Skull*. Once Ann Peacock had written the script, she pitched the film to countless producers, but found that people were not interested in a tale of torture set in the somewhat obscure, foreign context. Nevertheless, eventually, after many unsuccessful attempts, she came across the producer, Robert Chartoff of Phoenix pictures who was interested in the film. The next challenge was to find the money. This was no simple task, since the budget of 12 million US dollars (R96 million), meant that finance could not be covered in South Africa alone. An international co-production became necessary and, in the end, the film was made through an unofficial agreement between South Africa, the United States, the United Kingdom and Ireland.[77]

[75] Such works include: *June 16th* that followed her son's involvement in the Soweto Uprising of 1976; *Goodbye Bafana*, an adaptation of the book of the same name by James Gregory (1995) that focuses on the relationship between Nelson Mandela and his white prison warden, James Gregory; and an adaptation of the book *A Lesson Before Dying* (1999) for television which was about a black teacher and a prisoner, for which she won an Emmy Award for Best Screenwriting.

[76] *The Chronicles of Narnia: The Lion, the Witch & the Wardrobe* (Adamson, 2005), *Pictures of Hollis Woods* (Bill, 2007), *Kitt Kittredge: an American Girl* (Rozema, 2008), *Nights in Rodanthe* (Wolfe, 2008) and *The Killing Room* (Liebesman, 2009).

[77] The foreign producers working on the film were: Robert Chartoff, Mike Medavoy, John Boorman, Kieran Corrigan and Lynn Hendee. David Wicht was the film's South African producer. The film was released by multiple production houses including: Phoenix Pictures (US), Film Consortium (UK), Chartoff Productions (US) and Merlin Films (Ireland), in association with the U.K. Film Council, the Industrial Development Corporation of South Africa, Studio Eight Productions (UK), Merlin (Ireland), Inside Track Productions (UK) and Skoop, Skiet, Drama (RSA).

Although the writer of the screenplay, Peacock, is a South African by birth, she had been out of the country for over fifteen years when she wrote the film. Furthermore, the director had only visited South Africa on one occasion during the 1970's. Thus, much background research was required. In an interview, Peacock explained that for this purpose, she went back to South Africa to see the places where the Commission had taken place and also to listen to the audio recordings of the hearings, which 'set the tone and mood of writing' (*In My Country* DVD 2004). In the interview, she was careful to note that she did not write *In My Country* for a South African audience, but for a foreign, primarily American market. (Ibid.). If she had a local audience in mind, she would have made a 'very different film' and would have cast South African actors (Ibid.). Peacock rightly anticipated that local audiences would be rather critical of the work they might find that the film lacked authenticity and left many complex issues unresolved (Ibid.).

7.6. The Release and Reception of *In My Country*

One of the first screenings of the film, *In My* Country, was a private viewing for Nelson Mandela in 2003 in the presence of John Boorman, Juliette Binoche and Robert Chartoff. Mandela provided the producers with the following quote for the film's promotion:

> A beautiful and important film about South Africa's Truth and Reconciliation Commission. It will engage and influence not only South Africans, but people all over the world concerned with the great questions of human reconciliation, forgiveness, and tolerance. (Gilchrist 2005: online resource)

In My Country received its official, international release on the 11th of March 2004 through a number of international distributors including: Columbia Tristar, Film Afrika Worldwide and Sony Picture Classic. It also received a limited local release through Ster-Kinekor Nouveau and Junction theatres on the 24th of June 2005. In addition to the positive endorsement given by Nelson Mandela, the film won a number of international awards, including the Diamond Cinema for Peace Award at the Berlin Film Festival in 2004. Nevertheless, despite such encouragement, *In My Country* was far from being a financial success. Although it is difficult to find reliable international box office figures, in particular data that includes the revenue from DVD and television sales, the reported takings from the local and international box office, were $164 000 (R1, 3 million) and $1, 328 000 (R10, 6

million) respectively. This is a significant loss when one considers that the film cost over R50 million to make.

In addition to this financial loss, the film has received substantial criticism from the press and academics alike. While some critics have been unimpressed with certain technical details of the film including Peacock's clichéd, clumsy screenplay (Thomson 2005: online resource; Elley 2004: Variety online), most of the criticism concerns the accuracy and 'authenticity' of the representations of local culture and history on screen. For example, Duke, who was a reporter for the Washington Post at the TRC argued that 'a film about the truth should itself have been more true to the facts' (Duke 2005: online resource). Furthermore, academic David Phillips states that the filmmakers make a number of 'poor decisions,' including the invention of Langston who serves as a 'love interest' (2007: 307). This character introduces a rather didactic tone to the film, with key South African concepts such as the TRC and *ubuntu* having to be explained to him (Ibid.).

Phillips has also argued that Boorman tried to convey too much too quickly and as a result the film becomes muddled and inaccurate. For example, Phillips suggests that in trying to cover five individual cases in five different parts of the country, it loses focus and effectively mixes up the proceedings of the TRC (Ibid.). It confuses the HRVC where victims testified but were not cross-examined with the AC cases where perpetrators testified and were cross-examined. The film shows what are essentially the HRVC cases but perpetrators are also present and are called to comment (Ibid.). Such historical inaccuracy has attracted considerable criticism. For example, critic Nicholas Schager noted that 'this is a prime example of why it's dangerous to concoct fictional narratives in order to tell historically important stories' (2005: online resource). Furthermore, Tony Medley has argued that problems arise when Hollywood gets involved in history: 'history gets destroyed or rewritten in such a way as to be unrecognizable' (2005: online resource). Hollywood's influence with regards to the casting of foreign actors has also received considerable criticism with some critics arguing that this results in local black actors being relegated to the sidelines (Burr 2005: online resource) and others finding the portrayal of certain characters to be problematic and unconvincing (please see discussion on the characterisation of de Jager that follows) (Phillips 2007: 311).

Lastly, the ideology of the film has also been critiqued. For example, the use of the love affair as a symbol of racial reconciliation is seen to be inappropriate in the context where 'other characters are dealing with child murder, political torture and genocide' (Beifuss 2005: online resource). In the analysis of *In My Country* that follows, I will draw on these criticisms, the production context of the film and Boorman's cinematic background outlined above, relating them to specific examples from the film. In the process, I will pay particular attention to questions of identity, representation and mediation within the transnational networks of film production, circulation and consumption.

Section Two

7.7. Filmic Analysis

This is one of a number of feature films about the TRC that were produced just before its tenth anniversary in 2005.[78] These films mark a resurgence of interest in the Commission and its cultural impact on society (Evans 2007: 256). Evans further notes that filmmakers have always been attracted to transitional justice procedures in countries undergoing political changes, with the South African 'specific truth-for-amnesty model' offering 'myriad opportunities to explore the contentious ethics of transitional justice and its associated problems' (Evans 2007: 257). The public nature of the TRC and the actual physical presentation of the hearings – their placement on raised platforms or stages in school/community halls before a witnessing audience – can also be seen to encourage a sense of the dramatic (Ibid.).

In My Country opens with aerial footage of some of South Africa's most breathtaking locations. The natural beauty of the landscape, however, is contrasted in a montage featuring scenes of violent brutality where police officers attack unarmed, outnumbered men. The brutality of apartheid is further reinforced through visuals of multiple coffins at a mass burial. We are transported to the city of Cape Town, to witness original footage of Nelson Mandela's speech upon his release from prison. He promises us: 'Never, never, never shall it be that this

[78] These films include *Forgiveness* (Gabriel, 2004), *Zulu Love Letter* (Suleman, 2005) and *Red Dust* (Hooper, 2005).

beautiful land shall again experience the oppression of one by another.' This statement is very important to this film, since it serves as an inspiration for the cinematography, which aims to highlight the irony of South Africa under apartheid, 'an astonishingly beautiful country - rich and vibrant - and within [it the] horrible, obscene apartheid regime was functioning' (Boorman cited in Gilchrist 2005: online resource).

Following these scenes, the screen turns black and text appears providing the background information to the story. It reads:

> In 1994, South Africa's brutal apartheid system was finally overthrown. In the spirit of reconciliation, President Nelson Mandela and his fellow leaders offered amnesty to those who had committed human rights abuses, providing that they told the whole truth and could prove that they followed orders. The victims would have a chance to tell their stories and confront their persecutors. 21,800 of them testified before the Truth and Reconciliation Commission. Some of these stories are faithfully re-enacted in this film.

This text, in particular the statement that some of the scenes shown are 'faithful re-enactments,' is a direct appeal to realness and authenticity, which is a characteristic of the courtroom genre in which the story is framed. This appeal is accentuated by the filmmaker's inclusion of real-life footage (noted above) and the attention to historic detail through the use of original furniture, fixtures, motor vehicles and other accessories used at the hearings in the 1990's. Nevertheless, when one examines the characters, languages, stories and the workings of the TRC itself, one finds, that rather than being a 'faithful account,' this film, is, in fact, a rather liberal version of this time. This version places far greater emphasis on drama and imagination than it does on historic detail. Thus, like *Drum*, *In My Country* can be seen to present a reinterpretation of orthodox recordings of this period in South African history.[79] Likewise, it can be viewed as an example of historical relativism where artists reproduce accounts of history imbued with personalised meaning and blur the distinction between fact and fiction (White 1996: 18-21). The post-modern stance of *In My Country* is a likely influence of the historical relativism identifiable in the

[79] By 'orthodox' recordings I am referring to official news reports of the Commission or history books on the subject, for example, which would both be attempting to provide an accurate, non-fictional account of this process.

writing style of Antje Krog, with her book being described as a 'mix of reportage and memoir, witness testimony and fictional conversations' (Carroll 2004: online resource).

Although *In My Country* is an adaptation of Krog's work, this South African poetess had nothing further to do with the creation of the film and in fact questioned whether a feature could be made from her book, since there is no inherent narrative. It is just a journalist's account of the Commission (DVD Commentary: 2004). Thus, Peacock had to create 'the story'. This was partially achieved by framing the narrative within the conventions of the restorative three-act structure. The content of the narrative was also revised considerably, because, as Peacock noted, 'there was so much to explain about the history and the background. I had to find a way to enable people who knew absolutely nothing about the TRC' (Ibid.). Hence, Peacock decided to invent an African-American character, Langston Whitfield (played by Samuel L. Jackson), who was 'the window into the story from the outside world' (Ibid.). This character was contrasted with the protagonist, Anna Malan (played by Binoche) who was based on the figure of Antje Krog.

The restorative narrative she adopted is characterised by the division of the story into three acts and the focus on a single persona (Dancyger and Rush 2002: 22). In *Drum*, this person was Henry Nxumalo. However, in *In My Country*, two main characters share this spotlight. Anna is the main protagonist and is thus the primary means through which the audience experiences the story (Dancyger and Rush 2002: 4). However, her co-star, Langston also plays an important role and at times can be seen to have a greater strength and agency then she does. Moreover, if one examines the deleted scenes on the DVD, one finds that there were originally an additional six scenes featuring Langston. In this version, the first three scenes of the film were of Langston when he was in America, prior to his participation in the TRC. These opening scenes, if included, would have increased his importance in the narrative. However, director John Boorman cut them, because he thought that he was trying to cover too much in the story (DVD Commentary: 2004). He decided rather, to focus on the interiority of Anna. The story thus conforms to melodramatic conventions, since it highlights 'the internal life of the main character' rather than the external life of the TRC (Dancyger and Rush 2002: 92-93), tilting the narrative away from mass suffering towards individualised drama (Elsaesser 1996: 163).

The opening scene of Act One is set in the Orange Free State. It is Christmas 1995. The antagonism between white and black – between the 'haves' and 'have nots' – is introduced immediately, as we watch black thieves attempting to steal cattle from an Afrikaans-owned farm. As they are herding the cattle out of the gate, the farmer's dogs awake, and alert their owners to the theft. Anna Malan awakes to the noise, and she and her husband, Edward (Lionel Newton) arise to see what is happening. They find her brother, Boetie (Langley Kirkwood) getting dressed. He has a loaded gun in his hand as he exits the door. At this point, Anna's father, Willem (Louis van Niekerk) and her mother Elsa (Aletta Bezuidenhout) also awake. Willem is clearly displeased. He questions Anna sarcastically whether this is 'the new South Africa' that she so loves. Outside the two brothers are hot on the chase of the cattle hustlers. We hear the crack of a gun. Boetie has shot one of the men in the leg. The thief falls to the ground and cries out in pain. The two brothers throw the injured man roughly onto the back of their vehicle, taking no heed of his cries of agony as they climb into the front of the car. Back inside, Boetie tells the anxious Anna, 'we always give them a warning, but if they run away then we have to shoot.' Anna asks, 'You did not kill anyone, did you?' 'No,' he tells her, 'he just got one in the leg. I hate them for making me pull a trigger on another human being.' Boetie exclaims, 'I hate them for that!' As Anna walks out, Edward suggests, 'you should let the police handle this.' 'They are not our police anymore. This is not our country anymore!' Boetie shouts as he storms off.

The following scene serves to accentuate the tension between the protagonist and her family. As she leaves the farm with her husband and sons, her father confronts her for always taking 'their side against us.' He is also clearly unhappy about her participation in the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC). 'You should have nothing to do with those hearings. They are trying to break us!' The air between Anna and her family is thick with tension and bitterness. As she is about to drive off, her mother pleads with her to make amends with her father. Before Anna can refuse, Boetie moves swiftly over to her, sweeps her up in his arms, and carries her over to her father to give him a kiss. 'Remember where you are from,' her father warns. As Anna and her family drive off, she thinks, 'they are my blood, the marrow of my bones and this is my landscape. I cannot escape it, I cannot deny it and yet I must.' These two scenes at the farm are important since they introduce the audience to the context of the film, the early days of the New South Africa, where the TRC

stands as a sometimes-unwelcome symbol of transformation and reconciliation (Marx 2002: 51). They serve to develop the main character, Anna, illustrating the tension between her, a liberal white South African, and her conservative Afrikaans family, whom she dearly loves but is at odds with. Her closing words highlight her interior struggle and introduce us to the lyrical tone of her personal thoughts – an influence of Krog's writing. The use of English in these scenes is symptomatic of the somewhat artificial predominance of this language in the film. These conversations – between Afrikaners in the intimate space of their home – would undoubtedly have been in their mother tongue, not English. This linguistic convention is evident throughout the film, which is almost exclusively in English with just a few scenes being in Afrikaans (subtitled) and isiXhosa (unsubtitled). Thus, as is the case with most films targeted at the foreign market, 'the makers of the film felt that is would sell better internationally if most of the dialogue was in English rather than Afrikaans' (Phillips 2007: 311).

On the steps of the SABC we are introduced to another important character, Dumisane Mkhalipi (played by South African, Menzi Ngubane). 'Dumi' plays the role of Anna's sound engineer in the hearings. He is one of the only black South African characters to receive significant screen time in the film. However, unlike Anna and Langston, whose characters have depth and undergo transformation, Dumi's personality remains fixed and shallow. He is the happy-go-lucky guy who plays the mutual friend and go-between for the two chief characters. This is a distinguishing trait of the restorative structure, where only the protagonist experiences development and transformation, and the secondary characters remain static and serve to accentuate the characterisation of the protagonist (Dancyger and Rush 2002: 4).

In a press conference that follows, three black characters sit in front of a room crowded with journalists. A black South African journalist asks the central figure, Reverend Mzondo (Owen Sejake, who appears to be modelled on the iconic Archbishop Tutu) how he calls this justice when perpetrators are allowed to go free and victims are denied revenge? Mzondo replies that this is 'the justice of peace and compassion. The justice that desires to bring people together not drive them apart.' At this explanation, Anna smiles. This is clearly the stance that she has adopted. However, this is followed by another probing question directed

by an Australian journalist: 'Since Afrikaners were in control of the police and the army, would it be true to say that they are most to blame for the atrocities?' Mzondo responds again in a similar tone, 'apportionment of blame is not the purpose of the commission.' Another critical question is asked, this time by Langston Whitfield, a journalist from the Washington Post. 'Since all whites benefited from apartheid shouldn't they all be held accountable?' Again, Mzondo attempts to change the tone, reminding the journalists that whites were also killed under apartheid. To support Mzondo, Anna questions whether South Africans have not abandoned 'Western justice in favour of African justice, which is about reconciliation and not revenge?' This question brings a smile of agreement to Mzondo's eyes. However, the mood is transformed when Langston inquires how there can be reconciliation when '90 percent of the country's wealth is still in the hands of the white minority?' Mzondo acknowledges his concern and notes that South Africa does indeed have a long road ahead. Next, Adam Hartly of the London Guardian (played by the director's son, Charley Boorman) asks Mzondo, whether 'black people have some special capacity for forgiveness?' Before he can answer however, Langston interjects cheekily, 'or that white people have a special capacity for getting away with murder' at which, the room bursts into laughter.

Anna is angered by Langston's remarks, and as he exits the conference, she chases after him to 'set the record straight'. 'I think that you don't understand what we are trying to do here!' she exclaims (in a peculiar Afrikaans/French accent). Langston argues that indeed he does. 'You are an Afrikaner aren't you?' Anna, enraged by his loaded question, replies 'so? It is not about blame. We are all trying to find the truth. We want peace and we are all making compromises.' 'What compromises have your whites made?' Langston challenges her. 'Blacks can sit on your park benches now?' Langston's characterisation in these scenes has received certain criticism with his behaviour being described as 'overbearing' and his questions 'editorially inappropriate' (Thomson 2005: online resource). However, the questions that he and other journalists raise add a critical tone to the narrative, questioning the application of *ubuntu* in the TRC. Marx explains that *ubuntu* is 'the short-form of a widespread isiXhosa proverb in Southern Africa: *umuntu ngumuntu ngabantu*, which means 'A human being is a human being only through their relationship to other human beings' (2002: 52). While *ubuntu* was originally understood as a quality to 'be admired or

encouraged,' it was reinterpreted under the TRC as 'an extant virtue or type of community' (Ibid.). Furthermore, in this context, it was integrated into a Christian-inspired ideology to promote healing and nation building (Ibid).

It is important that the ideology of the TRC is questioned in the film because, as the journalists pointed out, there are indeed some issues in need of address. Firstly, the question regarding justice is a concern since the 'asymmetry of the Commission's mandate', led to the TRC providing more security to perpetrators than to the victims, who, when granted compensation, were subjected to 'potentially permanent political and bureaucratic delays' (Marx 2002: 54). Secondly, as pointed out by the Australian journalist and Whitfield, the Commission failed to confront the white population's widespread support of apartheid. Rather than highlighting the structures of apartheid, it focused on individualised cases of gross human rights abuses. (Marx 2002: 50). Thirdly, the question raised by Anna Malan and Adam Hartley's comment about the 'unique' justice system of *ubuntu* and black people's inherent capacity to forgive, also point to the problematic issue of cultural essentialism. Marx explains that Tutu and others adopted this stance because they needed to find a way to sell the TRC to the people. In exchange for forgiving perpetrators and perpetuating the reconciliatory discourse of the TRC, victims were given the opportunity to proclaim their *ubuntu*, their moral superiority, and in so doing, were awarded a place in an exclusive cultural community (Marx 2002: 53). However, through the encouragement of conformity and the suppression of dissidence (Ibid.), *ubuntu* can be seen to create a dichotomy between insiders and outsiders, between the 'idyllic, community-spirited, timeless, morally-superior Africa' and the cold-hearted, individualised, ego-centric West' (Marx 2002: 59). This dichotomy is evident in the tension between Anna and Langston throughout the film, where Anna plays the role of the insider, the one who is versed in the language of *ubuntu*, and Langston is the 'Western' outsider, the one who is grappling with the 'African' concepts of reconciliation and forgiveness.

In the following scene, Dumi and Langston are sitting in a bar. On the television, they see Colonel de Jager, an Afrikaans police officer who is applying for amnesty. De Jager is modelled on the figure of Eugene de Kock, the infamous serial killer who worked for the

apartheid state.[80] Langston explains that he is the main reason that he was sent to report in South Africa. 'What I wouldn't do to meet him' he says wistfully. To his surprise, Dumi intervenes: 'I can arrange it … I have my contacts from before.' Langston is very pleased with this news. He swears to keep Dumi's connections a secret from Anna as she walks into the room. While Dumi fetches her a drink, she and Langston accentuate the aforementioned dichotomy by igniting another heated discussion about 'African justice.' Subsequently, we follow a caravan of vehicles to the location of the first hearing. The beautiful aerial footage and choral singing are reminiscent of the opening scenes of the film and serve as a symbolic motif to bind the diverse hearings to come. The bus parks outside a small community centre and, as Anna disembarks, she pauses to watch people streaming into the hall before her, clearly transfixed with the process about to unfold. Dumi is most impressed to find Langston driving a fancy BMW. The attention that Dumi gives to the car is significant because, as Glenn has argued, this car symbolically sets Langston apart from the black South Africans in the film. Thus, when he and Anna later have their love affair, it is clear that she is not 'choosing a reciprocal relationship with a black South African, but [with] a high status outsider' (2007: 348).

Inside the hall, we witness the hearing of Mrs. Tabata, who explains how the police cut her son's hand off before killing him, to avoid finger print identification. His severed hand was then stored in a bottle on the desk of a white policeman, who referred to it as the hand of a gorilla, of a communist. This same policeman is present at the hearing and she pleads with him to return the hand to her, so that she at least has something to bury. This gruesome story is based on a true account. There was a case reported to the TRC, where the hand of a man, Sicelo Mhlauli, was cut off by police officers and displayed in a jar. These officers were Harold Snyman, Daniel Siebert, Gideon Nieuwoudt, Jacobus and Rueben Marx who were also found guilty of beating the political activist, Steven Bantu Biko to death under interrogation (Sparks 2003: 165-6). Evans argues that this scene has problems in terms of audience identification. A real hearing would not have 'jumped in to the level of gruesome detail discussed here' (Ibid.). This, together with the fact that the woman had not been

[80] Eugene de Kock was a colonel of the South African police force under apartheid. He earned the nickname 'Prime Evil' for his activities as the commander of the C1 unit, *Vlakplaas*, which was responsible for killing dozens of anti-apartheid activists. He stood trial at the TRC, where he provided evidence on many of these deaths. Due to inconsistencies in the evidence provided, however, De Kock's application for amnesty was refused by the TRC and he was sentenced to 262 jail years (BBC News 209: online resource).

previously introduced to the audience, alienates the viewer rather than drawing their sympathy (Evans 2007: 273). Evans argues that in this regard, Boorman overestimates the audience's sophistication. He assumes that 'these testimonies would automatically evoke intense sympathy in the audience when given a voice to the face. The opposite is actually true' (Ibid.). Afterwards, the film switches to Anna's personal, lyrical thoughts. The juxtaposition of the victim's testimonies and these somewhat abstract passages is a structural pattern that is repeated throughout the film (Evans 2007: 272). While this might be read as an attempt to capture something of the post-modern spirit of Krog's book (Ibid.), it is still morally disturbing since it 'amounts to silencing the victims', whose testimonies 'never come alive' and become a kind of 'backdrop for the actions of the main characters instead of an integral part of the action' (Ibid.).

We next witness the case of Hubert Sobandla. A woman, Mrs. Sobandla (we are not told whether she is Hubert's mother or wife) testifies before the judges, audience and perpetrators. When she learns from the perpetrator that he stabbed her loved one 37 times before he died, she collapses backwards and releases a heart-wrenching wail. Anna is distraught and runs out of the room. Langston questions Dumi why she is the one who is crying? Dumi's reply 'we did our crying years ago' is indicative of the role that he plays in the film as a go-between for these two main characters. He understands Langston because he is black, and Anna because she is South African. As Anna washes her tear-stained face in the basin, Mrs. Sobandla is assisted into the room and collapses onto the floor. Anna turns around to face her. She moves closer and attempts to give her a tissue. But she does not know how to reach out to her. Although the real victim here is Sobandla, the focus is on Anna. The camera does not even give us another glance of Sobandla at her feet. Evans argues that this scene points to a second problematic issue in the film concerning audience identification because 'the audience at this point has some understanding of Anna's feelings of helplessness, but no sense at all of the woman's grief, which is re-enacted solely for the purposes of Anna's trajectory' (Evans 2007: 272).

The following scene finds Anna back home. Seconds before she walks through the door, Mrs. Sobandla's wail is heard on the radio. Her black domestic servant quickly turns it off. This is too distressing a sound for this homely environment. Anna's husband and children

are delighted to see her. It is clear from the comfort of her home, and the presence of the domestic worker, that despite her liberalism, like other white South Africans, Anna has benefited from apartheid. Her home, however, is chaotic. Her sons have been fighting amongst themselves, and one has a bloody nose. Anna quickly reaches into her pocket and pulls out a tissue to stop the bleeding. Ironically, this appears to be the same tissue that she failed to give to Mrs. Sobandla in the previous scene, symbolically indicating how much easier it is to comfort one's own. While she is holding her son, the phone rings and the domestic worker brings it over to her. It is the boss, Felicia Rheinhardt (Fiona Ramsay), 'we loved the scream!' she cries gleefully. Her delight at another's anguish points to certain ethical concerns regarding the TRC where 'the personal pain of victim's testimonies' were displayed publicly in the name of national reconciliation and were also later exploited in commercial ventures such as this film (Evans 2007: 274.). In fact, Krog has been 'widely criticized for exploiting her position as a journalist and using testimonies as a platform to launch personal narrative' (Evans 2007: 275).

Subsequently, we move the house of Colonel de Jager. Eerie, ethereal music plays as Langston enters. The walls are covered with animal heads and the floors with skins. The house is permeated with death. Nevertheless, he walks into this space with confidence. When De Jager asks him what he wants, Langston, answers: 'I want to know what you did, who you did it to, who told you to do it.' This scene serves to establish Langston's goal and to introduce us to the figure of de Jager (played by the Irish actor, Brendan Gleeson). Boorman's choice to cast Gleeson as Colonel de Jager has drawn certain criticism. In fact, Phillips has identified this as one of Boorman's most unfortunate decisions, since he plays him as a loud, clumsy 'blusterer' and fails to portray the truly dangerous and fearful figure that the film requires him to be (Phillips 2007: 308). He also notes that the real de Kock is a much quieter man, but just as deadly a character (Phillips 2007: 312). He points to the portrayal of security policemen by local actors Janie Barlett and Ian Roberts in *Red Dust* (Hooper, 2004), arguing that unlike Gleeson, these actors manage to convey the sinister quiet menace and ruthless violence of the South African security police in their prime (Phillips 2007: 311). Nevertheless, Boorman argues that he chose Gleeson because he believed that a local actor would not have been able to convey the true evil of this man or to adopt an objective stance (DVD Commentary: 2004).

Act Two opens with the caravan motif as the Commission travels to the town of Ncunu in the Transkei. We watch as people prepare for the hearings. A young boy pushes a paraplegic man, Mr. Zokufa, to the school hall in a wheelbarrow. Inside, we learn how Mr. Zokufa became incapacitated after being subjected to electric torture by the perpetrator, Sergeant Smit. Callously, Smit refers to his victim as 'the subject' in his description of the act. The film then switches over to Anna's personal, poetic thoughts after the hearing. She is shattered by the testimony and decides that it is high time that she had a drink. She, Dumi and Langston drive off into the night in search of a bottle store. After being delayed by an untimely flat tyre, they eventually arrive and proceed to get very drunk. While Dumi converses with some of his black friends, Langston and Anna discuss the 'justice system' of *ubuntu*. The dialogue in this scene is a fine example of the oft-criticised didactic tone of the film (Phillips 2007: 307), where Peacock makes the 'fatal mistake of turning characters into mouthpieces' (Elley 2004: online resource).

This scene introduces the budding romance between the two characters. As they begin to understand each other, and indeed, the concept of *ubuntu*, their mutual attraction develops and their body language reveals a new level of intimacy. When the drunken companions decide to leave, however, Langston discovers that he has locked the keys in the car. Thus, they are forced to find somewhere to crash for the night. Anna approaches a nearby hotel and asks the landlady in perfect Afrikaans if she has room.[81] The lady agrees to let her stay the night, but hesitates when she sees her two black companions. Anna convinces her by explaining that they are both American and one of them knows Oprah. In the hotel room, Dumi collapses on the bed, and passes out. Anna climbs in next to him and gives him a shove to make space for Langston beside her. This is when they have their first erotic conversation. Langston chuckles saying that a few years ago he would have been put in prison for sleeping next to a white woman. 'And me' Anna asks, what about her, a white woman sleeping with two black men? 'What would you have gotten?' he asks. 'Possibly a lot of satisfaction!' she replies naughtily. At this they both laugh.

[81] Interestingly, although Binoche struggles with the Afrikaans accent throughout the film, in this scene she is suddenly able to speak fluent Afrikaans. By her proficiency and the slightly different tone of voice I suspect that this might be dubbed but in his commentary the director makes no mention of this so my suspicion remains unconfirmed.

Following a brief scene with De Jager, we see images of victims testifying juxtaposed with scenes of black people going about their daily lives. As they work, they listen to the testimonies on the radio. This seems to show the passing of time and the public reach of the TRC. While the testimonies are circulated locally, however, the reported horrors apparently aren't enough to capture the attention of the international press. We witness Langston in a bar having an angry telephonic exchange with his editor in Washington. Why was his article put on page seven? Since when has police brutality become a back-story? He turns to Dumi and vents his anger. These stories are not important 'because it is black folk who are dying!' he exclaims angrily. In response, Dumi says, 'it is not always black and white. Sometimes it is grey. Sometimes it is fucking grey!' 'Sometimes it's fucking grey?' Langston inquires quizzically. What exactly is Dumi trying to get at here? Dumi quickly adopts his usual joking tone telling him to ignore his words; it is just the 'beer talking.' This is an important exchange, because it is the second hint at the darkness of Dumi's past. Something lurks beneath his light-hearted, comical façade. Unfortunately, it is a very quick exchange and this part of his character does not receive any further development.

Back in the office, Anna receives a call from a lady explaining that they have found her daughter's body. We watch as a small group of people go out in search of the grave. When they find the skeleton, the mother cries uncontrollably. Over the melancholy sound of the *umakhweyana* bow and female voice, we hear the testimony of the perpetrator describing how the woman was left naked for ten days and raped repeatedly.[82] All she kept asking for was some panties. When the men refused, she found a plastic bag in her cell and tied it around herself as a form of cover. And indeed, on the skeleton we see this bag tied over the place where her vagina once was. We also learnt that this woman was shot in the vagina and the head when she was finally executed. Although the mother's grief-stricken cries punctuate the sound track, this scene closes with a close up of Anna, focusing on her distress and her pain.

[82] The *umakhweyana* bow is an indigenous Zulu music instrument that was traditionally played by young maidens before marriage.

This gruesome scene is contrasted with a luncheon party at Anna's house attended by her white, English friends. They speak about the problems of security and violence in the New South Africa. Anna stares blankly – lost in thought. Into this white-centred conversation she throws an uncomfortable question: 'can you rape with political motive?' Her friends are clearly thrown and soon find excuses to leave the party. This scene is an interesting moment in the film since it 'gives insight into the problems associated with transformation in post-apartheid South Africa' (Evans 2007: 278). It also highlights Anna's increasing alienation from her white friends and family. As times passes, she moves away from this society and develops a much deeper affinity with her colleagues at the TRC, in particular her black companion, Whitfield. Interestingly, the question that lies at the centre of this scene is an example of historical relativism. It was never dealt with by the Commission, since 'those who committed rape or murdered children were not eligible for amnesty (Ibid.). Thus, the 'facts' have been 'distorted here' to serve the filmmaker's intention of revealing the true barbarity of apartheid (Ibid.).

Next we find Anna sitting in the SABC office. She is about to go on air when she is handed a copy of Langston's latest article in the *Washington Post*. It is on the front page. As she reads it she fumes and chases after him: 'The South African Holocaust? Genocide? Every white in South Africa is as guilty as the perpetrators themselves!' She screams, 'How dare you write this sensationalist crap about my country?' They have a fierce row, screaming at each other and even fighting physically. Into this violent outburst Dumi shouts, 'you are on the air in 3 minutes,' and drags Anna into the office. This scene is important because it indicates Anna's patriotism to 'her country.' It also marks her increasing mental instability as she struggles to come to terms with her guilt. Following her report, Langston apologises to her. 'No,' she says, 'you are right.' She is no longer proud; she has laid down her defences and has admitted her (arguably indirect) support for apartheid as a white South African. This is one of the moments of greatest audience identification with this character. Dancyger and Rush (2002) explain that when a character allows himself/herself 'to appear foolish or vulnerable, our empathy for that character is realised and our identification with the character is secured' (4). As we wonder how much longer Anna can carry this burden, we hear her personal thoughts: 'how far can we go into every corner of this land? How

many more stories? How much more pain can we take on board?' These thoughts increase the audience's identification with Anna and warn of her impending breakdown.

Inside the commission we hear the testimony of a white man, Mr. van der Weyden. He describes his loss of his wife and child to a 'terrorist-planted' landmine. However, rather than sympathising with the victim, Anna becomes hysterical. She laughs, cries and then starts to shout out things to the Commissioner. Langston quickly comes to her rescue and drags her out the room. He takes her to the hotel room. Anna sits on the bed. 'I feel like such a fool. I have never lost control like that' she says. 'All those words, all those orders of death were spoken in my tongue, in the language of my heart that I use to write about love. What does this make me? I am so ashamed!' She cries. 'Don't be' Langston comforts and he embraces her. She starts to kiss his neck and then his mouth. They fall back onto the bed and make love.

While this love affair has been a major point of contention for most critics, Boorman explains that he believed that the film:

> Needed to be filtered through two people – one knowledgeable, one ignorant. And the fact that they, coming from such different places spiritually, geographically, emotionally, would find some accommodation and indeed love, was reflective of what the TRC was trying to do and reflective – this was my intention, anyway– of what was happening in South Africa between black and white. (Boorman cited in Duke 2005: 1)

He notes that while some viewers think this 'personalizing device' trivialises the broader story, he did not want to make a film 'where it's just a succession of people giving evidence at the TRC' (Ibid.). Nevertheless, Evans notes that while Krog does indeed mention a romantic relationship in her book, it is fictitious, and unlike this film, it is the backdrop to the victim's stories and not the other way around (2007: 275). Furthermore, Duke argues that it is always 'dicey to use romance as a gauge of racial accommodation', particularly since as it stands in South Africa, races are still largely separated and occupy very different worlds (2005: 1). Furthermore, Boorman's use of a 'black American character to complete his South African racial dichotomy,' is also problematic since it suggests that 'blacks on both continents are of the same racial mind-set' which is not necessarily so' (Ibid.).

At the entrance of the next hall there is a large poster reading 'The truth shall set us free,' the motto of the TRC. Whitefield reads it aloud, emphasising the importance of these words in the subsequent scene. Inside, we learn that the victim of this case, a little boy called Peter Makeba, has not spoken since the day that he witnessed his parents' murder. The perpetrator, a white policeman, describes how he killed the parents. However, when it came to killing the boy he defied his orders. He was unable to do it. That image of the boy has haunted him every since. He approaches Makeba. He promises to look after him, to pay for school fees, to do anything to make it up to him. He kneels in front of him, pleading for forgiveness. Makeba watches him carefully and then, after some moments have passed, he stands up and embraces him. The whole courtroom is moved by this display of forgiveness, by this gesture of *ubuntu.* When Anna and Langston press their heads together lovingly, the filmmaker effectively makes a connection between their newfound cross-racial connection and the reconciliation of the TRC.

The TRC is back on the road, only this time Dumi and Ann have joined Langston in his BMW. As they approach the Orange Free State, Dumi explains how this region is infamous for its racialist Afrikaners. When they arrive in town, they discover that the hearings have been postponed until the following day, so Anna and Langston decide to stay over at her parents. When they arrive at the house, they are greeted by the family's faithful labourer, Anderson, and then by Anna's mother, Elsa, who comes bursting out of the house to embrace her. She tells her in a hushed voice that she sneaks a listen to Anna on the radio when no one else is around. This reminds the audience and Langston of the racial conservatism of the family. Although Anna's father is rather hostile to their black visitor, Elsa makes up for this by giving him a signed copy of Langston Hughes's poetry. However, when she sees Anna and Langston together, she is quick to pick up on their affair and looks displeased. Next we find the worker Anderson, dressed in his finest, testifying at the TRC. He commences by reciting his praise names (*izibongo* as they are known in isiZulu or isiXhosa) in English. The use of English here is a likely symptom of the international orientation of the film. However, someone who is familiar with the powerful, poetic sound of *izibongo* in a native tongue might be somewhat disappointed with this recitation, which sounds somewhat stilted and flat. Furthermore, Phillips notes that this section is inaccurate because Anderson, a man who was supposedly born in this Basotho region, sings the

praises of Xhosa chiefs (2007: 307). The film then moves on to the final scene of Act Two, which is set in the house of de Jager. He taunts Langston to a point of almost uncontrollable anger with his vile descriptions of torture: 'you know what it is like to keep someone of the edge of death? It is like having sex, like fucking a woman for the first time' he tells him. As Whitfield is about to walk out in rage, de Jager calls him back, promising to tell him a secret. He informs him of the location of a farm where 'terrorists' were tortured by the police.

Act Three opens into the night. Anna and Langston drive alone in search of the farm. When they discover it, they squeeze through a hole in the fence and enter the property. Inside, they find a dungeon equipped with prison cells and instruments of torture. There are handcuffs fastened to the wall, electric cables and a metal rod with a condom over it. The last discovery reminds us of de Jager's sick words in the previous scene and forms a symbolic link 'between sexual and political perversion' (Glenn 2007: 347). It is all too much for Anna, who bursts into tears and has to be ushered out by Langston. As they make their ways towards the fence, they find that some wild pigs have uncovered a skeleton lying in a shallow grave. The film merges into a daytime scene over the grave where the TRC Commissioners, the perpetrator and family of the victim's family are present. Evans notes that the iconography of this film can be linked to the film *Red Dust,* which was also fascinated with instruments of torture, found 'the heart of apartheid hidden in dungeon-like torture chambers on killing farms' and unearthed and buried 'the bones of the dead in an attempt to symbolically portray the Commission's work' (2007: 278).

Following the discovery of the killing farm, we see de Jager in court applying for amnesty. However, on the grounds of proportionality, the Commissioners decide to reject his application. In celebration, the theme song 'Senzeni Na?' plays and the spectators get up and dance. As he exits the courtroom, Anna chases after him questioning how he can justify his actions. He turns to face her and identifies her as Anna Malan. 'If you want to know, why don't you ask your brother' he replies. Subsequently, Anna goes back to the farm in search of Boetie. She finds him in the stable with his horse. When accused, he defends himself, arguing that he 'got blood on his hands' to keep his people safe: to keep her safe.

As Anna walks out in despair, she hears a gunshot behind her and races back into the stable. Boetie has killed himself. She collapses onto the floor.

On the day of the funeral, Elsa confides in Anna about a love affair that she had with a Chilean poet in Paris. She explains that she has kept this a secret from her father all these years, but warns her that these secrets eventually have an affect on one. She pleads with her daughter, 'no more lies Anna, no more lies! Her mother's warning drives Anna to tell Edward about her affair. Since this scene is the one when the protagonist can be seen to face her greatest challenge, when she has to face her own truth, it might be read as the climax of the film. When Edward learns of the affair, he is shocked and angry, but forgives her when he recognises the sincerity of her remorse. Glenn notes that while the mother and daughter's love affairs might suggest that 'Afrikaner women have always been looking for the world beyond, unwilling to live in the apartheid cage,' in the end both of them 'settle for traditional roles and white male bonds (2007: 348). Thus, he warns that 'one needs to look suspiciously at Anna as a messianic sacrificial victim for white sins' as the one who carries all the guilt for the Afrikaner (Ibid.). Firstly, because, as mentioned above, she did not choose to enter into a reciprocal relationship with a black South African but chose a 'high status outsider' instead. Secondly, one needs to remember that 'white women were not only complicit in much of apartheid legislation on inter-racial sexuality, but often were active agents in pushing for such legislation' (Ibid.).

Subsequently we find Dumi, Langston and the other reporters in a bar celebrating the final hearing of the TRC. Langston keeps looking at the door, hoping that Anna will return. But she only appears as they are leaving. She takes this opportunity to tell Langston that she has informed her husband about their affair. She embraces him, whispers in his ear, 'my skin will never forget you,' and then walks away ignoring his calls for her to return. With her departure, the two friends are left alone. They get into the car and make their way over to Dumi's place. However, as they approach his house, they find themselves blocked in by two large 4x4 vehicles. They think that it is a car jacking. However, when one of the men, Thando, climbs out of the car, and points a gun through the passenger window, Dumi realises that his situation is far worse. He is ordered to get out of the car and stand in front of the headlights. 'How much?' Thando shouts while pointing a gun at Dumi. 'How much

did they pay you for Sobandla?' Dumi attempts to defend himself, but it is no use. Thando shoots him in the stomach. When Langston cries out, Thando says 'Don't bother, he is an *impimpi*!' Dumi stumbles over the bonnet of the car.[83] Blood is pouring out of his mouth. Langston attempts to revive him, but it is too late. He is dead.

Dumi's murder comes as a major shock at this point of the narrative since the audience has received little warning of the impending tragedy. Evans explains that the figure of the *impimpi* has been popular with filmmakers since 'it neatly embodies the identities of both victim and perpetrator' (2007: 279). However, it has not been well used in this film, because the filmmaker fails to 'give the audience any real access to the *impimpi's* motivations.' The only information that we are given about Dumi's 'dark past' is when he tells Langston in the bar that 'sometimes it's grey,' and when he makes reference to his 'ties from before' (Ibid.). Furthermore, although the filmmaker had a perfect opportunity to develop this character in the Sobandla testimony, where Dumi might have looked guilty or at least uncomfortable, he fails to react any differently and thus remains one-dimensional. In fact, the only time that Dumi is given to explain himself is at his execution, where he cries: 'they were going to kill me, my wife and my kids.' Yet, there is no 'explanation of who 'they' were or why they sought information on Sobandla' (Evans 2007: 279). Dumi's shallow characterisation has drawn considerable criticism because 'his circumstances are in fact more compelling than either Anna's or Langston's, but its moral difficulties – and perhaps the fact that he is a black South African, rather than a black American or a white Afrikaner – make it less likely to be the focus of a mainstream movie' (Fuchs 2005: online resource). Dumi's execution also comes as a shock, since it runs counter to the concept of *ubuntu*, which 'the rest of the narrative spends so much time setting up' (Evans 2007: 280). Furthermore, since there is no real political motivation behind the murder – apart from vengeance, the film 'creates an impression of irrational, overemotional and even random violence, the negative traits that films so often associated with African justice' (Ibid.). The effect of senselessness is enhanced through the use of Xhosa in the scene with no subtitles, which effectively 'disorientates foreign viewers and the vast majority of South Africa's white population who do not understand this language' (Ibid.).

[83] *Impimpi* means 'traitor' or 'police informer' in Xhosa.

The final scene of the film shows Langston on board a plane on his return flight to America. He is reading a poem by Langston Hughes. It reads: 'Out of love, No regrets – Though the return be never'. As he sits there, we are taken on an aerial journey over beautiful landscapes. This journey is reminiscent of the title sequence and the travelling motif in the film. Anna's poetic thoughts are the final words that we hear:

> Because of you this country no longer lies between us but within. After being wounded. In the cradle of my skull it sings. It ignites my tongue. By a thousand stories I was scorched a new skin. I am changed forever. I will say forgive me, forgive me, forgive me.

These words are symbolic and speak both of Anna's love affair and of her participation in the TRC. They suggest that these experiences have changed her forever and that she has accepted her own culpability. These final words serve to reinforce the *ubuntu* theme, which is the premise of the film: 'we are all connected and thus we are all responsible. Forgiveness is our only salvation.' This premise has received particular attention in the final two acts of the film, where (1) Anna is directly implicated in apartheid through her brother, (2) Dumi is found to have blood on his hands and (3) Langston reminds the audience of the reality of racism in America. This rather serious message serves to enhance the somber conclusion of the film. This tone is unexpected since conventional Hollywood films are generally characterised by upbeat endings (Dancyger and Rush 2002: 26). However, while this ending might be read as an indication of Boorman's experimentalism and desire to make a film that embodies a socio-political lesson, if one acknowledges that Anna's words serve to bring a sense of closure, comfort and restoration, perhaps this ending is not unconventional. For example, Dancyger and Rush argue that in the restorative three-act structure, happy endings are secured through the protagonist, recognising her/his failure (or in this case culpability), and being able 'to rise and overcome internal tension and story conflict' (Ibid.). Thus, like the general construction of this story, the conclusion of *In My Country* appears to conform to restorative norms.

7.8. Conclusion

In conclusion, while one might commend the filmmaker for attempting to wrestle with this complex topic at all, Evans notes that the application of Hollywood conventions results in

the film failing to 'appreciate the complexity of South Africa's past' (2007: 381). For example, to maintain the pace of a three-act structure, this film can be seen to simplify the past into a series of stereotyped characters and iconographic images. This is because the 'forward movement' of this structure 'comes at the expense of texture, of resonance, and of ambiguity' (Dancyger and Rush 2002: 32). As a consequence, 'the everyday suffering of history's ordinary men and women' is sidelined (Ibid.). Furthermore, the narrative-driven requirements of the melodrama genre, result in exclusive development of the protagonists. Thus, secondary characters like Dumi remain shallow and their fates unexplained. The apparent senselessness of his death, however, can be seen to run directly counter to the film's message of *ubuntu.* Therefore, as in the case of *Drum*, the application of such conventions can lead to the reinforcement of the very conservative notions that a filmmaker might wish to challenge (Dancyger and Rush 2002: 36).

The characterisation of Anna Malan, on the other hand, might be seen as a somewhat more open and complex than the portrayal of Dumi. Boorman's choice to use a white South African in the lead role is likely evidence of the director's attempt to connect to the white-dominated foreign audience for which the film was intended. To use a white, male protagonist, however, might have alienated audiences given the international dislike of the Afrikaans (mostly male) run apartheid state. Thus, an Afrikaans female protagonist became a more appropriate choice. Since the restorative structure requires audiences to identify with the protagonist, it was necessary for this white, Afrikaans character to be a likeable person. Thus, many of the stereotypes typically associated with Afrikaans people in the international media – racist, backward, ugly, stupid – have arguably been transgressed in this film due to this hybrid, co-production filmmaking model. Moreover, since Anna is the protagonist, her characterisation is deep, complex and dynamic with her inner transformation being concerned with some pertinent, interesting questions of white identity and white culpability in post-apartheid South Africa. Nevertheless, the characterisation of other white Afrikaans characters such as her brother, father and Col. De Jager, is one-dimensional and can be seen to perpetuate the aforementioned cultural stereotypes. Furthermore, although this story is somewhat progressive given its selection of a female character for the central protagonist, one finds that Malan is shown to be far weaker and emotionally-driven than the male journalists at the TRC. She is contrasted in particular with

Langston, whose sense of agency and strength is developed through his ability to confront de Jager, his discovery of the torture farm and the fact that he twice 'comes to Anna's rescue' (when she breaks down in court and at the torture farm, when he escorts her out). Furthermore, while Glenn is correct in saying that Langston tends to be a reactive character and is not the sexual predator in the love affair (2007: 351), it could be argued that Anna's initiation of the affair serves as proof of her weakness and immorality. Thus, while the filmmaker made a rather unconventional decision to place a female character at the centre of this narrative, it is arguable whether her characterisation contradicts the often-stereotypical representations of women on screen.[84]

These complex somewhat problematic representations in *In My Country* extends to the portrayal of the victims of the TRC, who despite receiving significant screen time, do not develop as individual personas with whom the audience might connect (Evans 2007: 272). As a result, their testimonies do not draw any empathy from the viewer and they become a conglomerated mass of people imbued with the spirit of *ubuntu.* While one might link this to the protagonist-centered formula of the melodrama, it can also be read as a symptom of the TRC's *ubuntu* epistemology, which, through promoting synthesis and community, developed an integral, fundamentalist nationalism (Marx 2002: 58). From this angle, the saying 'a human being is a human being only through his relationship to other human beings', might be read as 'a human being finds its fulfilment only within the nation' (Ibid.). Through this formula, therefore, one might argue that heterogeneity is lost and the victims are consequently 'anonymised' (Marx 2002: 53). This loss of identity is arguably evident in the representation of victims in the film under discussion. Such complexities have led Evans to state that when a filmmaker decides to make a film about the TRC, they [involuntarily] enter into a 'national debate, on a highly contentious topic' (2007: 259). And, that when one analyses such films one needs to take such factors into account (Ibid.). Therefore in analysing *In My Country*, I have attempted to give due consideration to the wider, complex context of the TRC and strategies of nation building in post-apartheid South Africa. In doing so I have considered this work as a part of a 'process whereby South

[84] Gauntlett provides an interesting account of the representation of women in media. In an historical analysis, he explains that not only have men been more predominant in film and television, but that 'overall, men were more likely to be assertive (or aggressive), whilst women were more likely to be passive. Men were more likely to be adventurous, active, and victorious, whereas women were more frequently shown as weak, ineffectual and victimised' (2008:47).

Africa's past is being remembered, mythologised and reclaimed in popular (and global) collective memory' (Ibid.).

Chapter Eight: Textual Analysis of *Yesterday*

8.1. Chapter Overview

This chapter provides an analysis of the film *Yesterday* (2004), which is written and directed by South African, Darrell James Roodt, and produced by the local filmmaker, Anant Singh. *Yesterday* features a cast of South African actors including the star Leleti Khumalo. It is set in a rural region of the KwaZulu-Natal province and focuses on the tragic impact of HIV/AIDS in this impoverished community. Chapter Eight is divided into two parts. The first section includes a motivation for the selection of the text, background information pertaining to the subject of the film, an introduction to the filmmaker, details of the production context and the public reception of *Yesterday.* The second section includes a comprehensive textual analysis in which I consider the production context at hand and through a detailed study of the film, attempt to understand the significance of specific cinematic choices. In the process, I discuss the creative expression of the filmmaker/s, the ideology of the text, the dynamics of gender, race and spatial representation, national policy and ideology and the impact of transnational cinematic production and consumption practices.

Section One

8.2. *Yesterday*: Motivation for Selection

I selected *Yesterday* as a case study for this thesis for a number of reasons. Firstly, unlike the two films discussed before, this is a low-budget, locally funded feature film. Thus, it is important to examine how these production circumstances have influenced the text at hand and to compare this to my analyses of *Drum* and *In My Country*. Secondly, this film is relevant to include in a study of post-apartheid cinema because Darrell Roodt is recognised to be one of the country's most prolific and talented filmmakers. Thirdly, since Roodt has been active both in the local industry and in Hollywood, it is interesting to look at whether

these hybrid influences are evident in this cinematic text. The topic of the film – HIV/AIDS in South Africa – also makes it an interesting and important subject of study. It is relevant to question how the state's controversial handling of the epidemic has been represented in the film. Lastly, since this film is written and directed by a white, urban, male filmmaker and is about a black, female, rural character, it might be seen as a dynamic site for the study of the representation of national identities in post-apartheid cinema.

8.3. *Yesterday*: An Introduction

Set in contemporary South Africa ten years after the arrival of democracy, this film follows the life of a woman, Yesterday, who lives in a rural village in the KwaZulu-Natal province of South Africa. Framed within a melodramatic genre, it highlights the protagonist's lonely struggle to survive in the face of poverty, social-hardship and HIV/AIDS. Although Yesterday goes to the local doctor to seek help, when she is diagnosed with HIV/AIDS she does not receive any anti-retroviral treatment. Instead she is told to inform her husband of her status. He subsequently beats her upon hearing the news. When she learns of her impending death, Yesterday's primary goal in life becomes to witness her beloved daughter's first day of school. Less than a year later, this day arrives and the film closes on an open-ended note with the details of the protagonist's fate remaining unspoken.

As the first commercial, internationally distributed film to be made in the Zulu language, *Yesterday* has been described as a landmark film in South Africa.[85] Furthermore, it is one of the first national feature films to deal directly with the explosive HIV/AIDS epidemic.[86] South Africa has the highest incidence of HIV infection in the world. With an approximate population of 47.5 million, the country has an alarming 5.5 million people infected with the virus (Macarow 2008: 94). Nevertheless, despite such statistics, HIV/AIDS has remained steeped in state denial and controversy for many years. In fact, during the period in which the film is set (early 2003 to early 2004), the state had not yet provided HIV-infected

[85] Tomaselli argues that Peter Davis (1996) has disputed this claim since there was an earlier Italian silent film shot in Zululand called *Silwa the Zulu* (1927) (2007:50). Tomaselli does not explain however, how a silent film can be in made in Zulu.
[86] *Tsotsi* (Hood, 2005) and *Beat the Drum* (Hickson, 2006) are two other post-apartheid features that include HIV/AIDS in the narrative.

individuals with antiretroviral treatment (ART).[87] Furthermore, although the rollout of ART commenced in April 2004, for many years it was very slow and reached only a small percentage of those in need (Horne 2005: 192). Sparks explains that the state's delayed reaction can be partly attributed to the fact that the disease caught South Africa off guard (2003: 284). It made 'silent inroads' into the country 'mainly between 1990 and 1995, as guerrilla and anti-guerrilla fighters, lonely men with pay, made their way home from infected areas in the north' (Ibid.). Although the state was warned about the danger of HIV, since the new government was locked in intensive planning for the new dispensation, they failed to prioritise its control (Nattrass 2007: 38-9). In fact, Sparks, notes that the ANC's 'seminal 1992 document, *Ready To Govern,* devoted only four lines to AIDS' (2003: 284). The existing dysfunctional social and living conditions of the black population, in particular the migrant labour system, which was a legacy of apartheid, only made matters worse (Ibid.)

However, although the conditions of the early 1990's might be seen to exacerbate the spread of the virus, much of the delay in the state's response to the epidemic can be linked to former-president, Thabo Mbeki's, skepticism of ARV treatment and the prevailing scientific understanding the HI virus itself. Mbeki aligned himself with dissident scientists who denied that HIV caused AIDS, and he, together with the former Minster of Health, Tshabala-Msimang, rather than supporting the free distribution of highly active antiretroviral treatment (HAART), claimed that such treatment was 'poisonous' and chose to promote and investigate alternative, scientifically unsupported, 'African' solutions (Sparks 2003: 265; Macarow 2008: 94; Nattrass 2008: 4-5). This inexplicable reaction caused much confusion and an effective paralysis in the state's response to HIV. For example, in 2000 the Health Department failed to spend 40 percent of its AIDS budget (Sparks 2003: 265). The result was a huge loss of life with an estimated 300,000 deaths having being linked to former President Thabo Mbeki's denialist policies (TAC 2009a: online resource). Furthermore, it is arguable that this confusion exacerbated the spread of the virus since if one does not 'believe AIDS is infectious but merely a deficiency disease, you will not practice safe sex' (Sparks 2003: 291).

[87] Although the time period is never outlined specifically, by the date 'October 2003', written on the school chalkboard towards the end of the film, this time period can be approximated (Horne 2005:192).

Macarow explains that 'South African non Government Organizations, activists, cultural workers, medical practitioners, social scientists, artists, trade unionists and people infected and affected by HIV and AIDS' reacted strongly to this failure and campaigned for numerous years for the state 'to provide appropriate medical treatments and services for people and families affected by the virus' (2008: 94). Such efforts, in particular the sustained work of the Treatment Action Campaign (TAC), eventually reaped their intended results, and in 'March 2007, the South African Government and the South African National AIDS Council (SANAC) launched the *HIV and AIDS and STI Strategic Plan for South Africa 2007–2011* with the aim of responding more vigorously to HIV and AIDS' (Ibid.). The objectives of this strategic plan are to 'reduce the rate of new HIV infections by 50 percent by 2011' and 'reduce the impact of HIV and AIDS on individuals, families, communities and society by expanding access to appropriate treatment, care and support to 80 percent of all HIV-positive people and their families by 2011' (Ibid.). While these objectives seemed unobtainable in 2007, following President Zuma's public acknowledgment 'that government's efforts so far have been insufficient to curb the devastation of the epidemic' and his renewed commitment to the aforementioned goals, the TAC have noted that there is now hope that this vision might be achieved (TAC 2009b: online resource). If one looks at the treatment situation in 2010, one can identify a clear improvement in state assistance, with South Africa having the largest ART programme in the world and there being an estimated 1 million people on treatment. The TAC has noted, however, that only 50 percent (800 000) of those who need antiretroviral therapy have access to it (TAC 2009c : online resource).

The filmmaker's choice to set *Yesterday* in KwaZulu-Natal – the province which has the highest HIV infection rate in the country, to focus the narrative on the plight of rural black women – the population group most affected by the disease (Macarow 2008: 95-6), and to highlight the inaccessibility of medical services, in particular ARV treatment, suggests that this film is a deliberate, epidemiologically informed response to the HIV/AIDS crisis in South Africa (Horne 2005: 1-2; 187). However, while many media responses have taken the form of 'advocacy journalism', Singh and Roodt have chosen to approach the subject 'via a character-driven' story, which consciously avoids moralism and didacticism (Tomaselli 2007: 50). For example, rather than outlining specific didactic objectives, Singh

has noted that 'If our film is a means to communication, dialogue, to making a difference, then we've achieved what we set out to do' (Larkin 2006: 137).

8.4. Darrel James Roodt: An Introduction

Darrel James Roodt is a white South African filmmaker who was born in 1963. He is one of the most dominant and prolific figures in the South African film industry (Armes 2008: 112), having made a total number of 25 feature films and three television series.[88] Roodt has been actively involved in filmmaking since the 1980's, starting off as an assistant for Gray Hofmeyr and Elmo de Witt in Johannesburg. Although it is seldom acknowledged, his directing debut came with the production of two African language feature films, *Mr. TNT* (Zulu, 1985) and *Wind Rider* (Xhosa/Zulu, 1985) (Ibid.). These films can be connected to a wider state subsidy scheme, known as the 'B' scheme: a funding incentive that produced films ostensibly for black audiences (10). These films were made 'mostly by white filmmakers who spoke no African languages,' their aim being 'to entertain (and possibly to indoctrinate) segregated black audiences, and of course, to recoup government subsidies' (Ibid.). The scheme resulted in a large number of films being produced from the mid 1970's until it came to an end in 1990 (Ibid.).

Luc Renders (2007) has described Darrell Roodt as an accomplished director and screenwriter who has courageously brought taboo subjects into the public forum (236). Indeed, many of Roodt's films have explored politically charged and sometimes controversial themes. For example, *Place of Weeping* (1986) is recognised as one of the first anti-apartheid films to be made in South Africa. Following the contemplative work *Tenth of a Second* (1987), a film that concerns a teacher's struggle to come to terms with apartheid, Roodt made an anti-war film, *The Stick* (1987), which was subsequently banned in South Africa. *Sarafina!* (1992), is another important, socially conscious film. Based on Mbongeni Ngema's award-winning Broadway stage show of 1988, this film follows the student uprisings of 1976. It stars Whoopi Goldberg, Leleti Khumalo and Miriam Makeba and 'introduced Roodt to a wider international audience' (Ibid.). In 1995, Roodt adapted Alan Paton's novel *Cry, The Beloved Country* to the screen. As in *Sarafina!*, he used a mixture of local and international actors, with the lead roles being played by the American star, James Earl Jones, the Irish actor Richard Harris and American Charles

[88] These television series include: Soul City (TV series 3; 1999), *Ella Blue* (2008) and *Charlie Jade* (2005)

Dutton. Films focusing more the socio-political situation of post-apartheid South Africa include: *Dangerous Ground (*1997), a thriller about drug trafficking in Johannesburg; *Yesterday* (2004); *Faith's Corner* (2005), a silent film about the plight of a homeless family in Johannesburg; and *Zimbabwe* (2008), a drama about human-trafficking in Johannesburg.

The local producer, Anant Singh has been an important partner for Roodt over the years. They met as anti-apartheid filmmakers, felt a connection, and have been making films together ever since.[89] Singh has worked as a producer on many of these films, and the distribution arm of his company, Videovision, has also been responsible for certain international and local sales. Videovision, as the production company for many of these films, has also been an important source of finance for Roodt, who noted on the director's commentary for *Yesterday* that he is very lucky to have Singh's support because he has sometimes financed entire productions such as *Faith's Corner* (2005). 'What director gets to make a silent film in this day in age?' he questioned (2004: DVD commentary). While he has had much support from Videovision, he does not have the same relationship with the NFVF. In the interview, he argued that although they have been involved in various things that he has done (such as *Yesterday,* for which they provided some of the funds), he finds it difficult to deal with them because 'they wield that power too much' (pers. comm. 2008).

Although Roodt has made many politically and socially conscious films, he has also produced numerous entertainment orientated films for the foreign market. These include *Blood City* (1987), *To The Death* (1991), *Father Hood* (1993), *The Second Skin* (2000), *Pavement* (2002), *Dracula 3000* (2003) and *Prey* (2007). Such works have elicited certain criticism from writers like Flanery who have accused him of engaging in a 'decades-long flirtation with the worst of Hollywood moviemaking' (2009: 240). In an interview with Mayke Vermeren (2006), Roodt explained that he prefers to make films like *Faith's Corner* or *Yesterday*, but, 'every now and then, and more often now than then' he has to 'make bad American TV or crap movies because no one is going to give you money to make those films consistently' (61). He admits, however, after making the critically-acclaimed *Cry, the Beloved Country* (1995) and *Sarafina* (1992), that he did get lost for a while and made American style films in South Africa using D-grade actors.

[89] Films that they have made together include *Place of Weeping* (1986), *Tenth of a Second* (1987)*, To the Death* (1991), *Sarafina!* (1992), *Fatherhood* (1993), *Cry, the Beloved Country* (1995), *Yesterday* (2004) *Faith's Corner* (2005) and *Prey* (2007).

This frustrated him, however, and when he was offered an opportunity to do another American feature, *Firestarter II*, although he was struggling financially, he declined, and went about writing the script for *Yesterday* instead (2004: DVD commentary).

8.5. The Making of *Yesterday*

Roodt is careful to point out that although *Yesterday* is about a socially relevant topic, it was not his intention to make a documentary or a docu-drama. On the contrary, he wanted to make a piece that was illuminating and poetic (Ibid.). He further explained that as a simple story about a very complex issue, *Yesterday* might be related to the neorealist films such as Vittorio de Sica's *The Bicycle Thieves* (1948, aka *Ladri di Biciclette*). A circle of film critics in Italy developed Neorealism after the Second World War. These included Antonioni, Visconti, Pasolini and Zavattini. Neorealist films tend to focus on the lives of the poor, are shot on location, use local dialects, employ non-professional actors and favour socially orientated narratives.

Yesterday was shot on location in the Drakensberg region of KwaZulu-Natal in 2003. Roodt and Singh were initially planning to make two versions of the film, one in English and the other in Zulu. 'However, it became clear to Roodt once filming began, that the Zulu version was far more powerful and authentic' (Ibid.). Furthermore, from a commercial point of view, he wanted to make a 'subtitled art film the world could see like *City of God* (Meirelles, 2002) or *Salaam Bombay* (Nair, 1988)*'* (2004: DVD commentary). Roodt explained that he did not find it difficult to direct the film in Zulu, because having grown up in South Africa, he had a basic understanding of the language and always 'had a very good sense of what the characters were saying' (Ibid.). The film features a cast of professional and non-professional actors. However, the main cast are all professional actors. Roodt explains that he made this decision because money and time were short, and he thought that experienced actors might be more efficient. However, in retrospect, he wishes that he had used a greater percentage of unprofessional actors (Ibid.).[90] The cast is exclusively black, with the exception of the doctor, who is played by the white South African, Camilla Walker. Roodt explained that he selected her because she is fluent in Zulu, and with the disproportionate number of white doctors in the country, he thought that it

[90] This he has done in his later works, *Meisie* and *Zimbabwe.*

would be more realistic (Ibid.). The lead actress of the film is Leleti Khumalo, who also starred in *Sarafina! Cry, the Beloved Country* and *Faith's Corner*.

Initially Roodt wanted to make a very low budget film. He planned to go to the village alone and make the film on a cheap video camera (Ibid.). However, since he wanted to target a relatively wide audience, he decided to adopt a more cinematic approach. Once he had Anant Singh on board, they went about raising the finance for the production. The film has a relatively low budget of R5 million (approximately $625 000.00). Nevertheless, raising the finance was not easy. In fact, Singh explains that they had to 'pretty much' finance it on their own, because people were rather adverse to the idea of a Zulu film about HIV/AIDS (cited in Larkin 2006: 136). Nevertheless, they persevered and, in addition to Videovision, in the end, the production received the support of M-Net, the NFVF and the Nelson Mandela Foundation.

If one looks at Roodt's career, one can identify *Yesterday* as an important turning point. Although he has made some 'American' film since then, he has also produced other South African features including *Faith's Corner* (2005)*, Meisie* (2007) and *Zimbabwe* (2008), which are also made on a minimal budgets, feature a cast of local actors, use local dialects (with the exception of *Faith's Corner*, which is silent), and have female protagonists.[91] When I commented on his tendency to use female leads in his films, he replied that this has been quite controversial because 'he gets a tough enough time in South Africa as a white filmmaker making films about black people, but now, as a man making films about women, he carries twice the burden' (pers. comm. 2008). While he could not provide a concrete explanation for this subject choice, he argued that he finds the dominance of male leads in mainstream cinema shocking (Ibid.). This explanation suggests that his preference for using female protagonists might be connected to the wider politically orientated, socially corrective theme discussed above, which is evident in much of Roodt's repertoire.

8.6. The Release and Reception of *Yesterday*

Compared to many South African films, *Yesterday* had a very wide local and international reach. It has been shown numerous times on national television (SABC and M-Net), at national and

[91] The 'American' films that I am referring to are: *Cryptid* (2006), *Prey* (2007) and *Lullaby* (2008).

international festivals and on the entertainment screens of the national air carrier, South African Airways. On the 3rd of September 2004, Ster-Kinekor released *Yesterday* in local cinemas. And on the 1st of December 2005 (Worlds AIDS Day), the American company HBO launched its worldwide distribution. Furthermore, the Nelson Mandela Foundation identified this film as a strategic resource for their 46664 global awareness campaign, and thus it received even wider coverage at prestigious international events such as the 15th International AIDS Conference in Bangkok of 2004. It also became a part of the state's HIV/AIDS public awareness strategy and was screened free of charge on Worlds AIDS Day 2005 in selected cinemas throughout the country.

Yesterday was well received by the international and national public. It won numerous awards including the Human Rights Film Award at the 61st Venice International Film Festival. It was nominated at the Academy and Emmy Awards (the first South African film to do so) and received the Peabody Award in New York. Perhaps more significant than these international awards, is the success of the film on the local circuit, with it becoming the 'second highest grossing South African film of 2004, after Gray Hofmeyr's *Oh Schucks, I'm Gatvol* (starring Schuster), which was released on over four times as many cinemas as *Yesterday'* (Tomaselli 2007: 51). The local newspapers also praised the film, with the The Daily News declaring it a 'triumph for local film-making that should be seen by all South Africans,' and The Sunday Tribune Magazine saying, 'It tells a moving, simple story…the best South African feature film' (Yesterday the Movie Website nd: online resource). Internationally, the reviews were also favourable. The Washington Post called it 'A tale of sorrow and grit…the film achieves a preciously subtle epic stature,' and the New York Times noted that it was 'told simply, with intelligence and grace…beautifully made' (nd: online resource).

However, Tomaselli notes that the film was not well-received by all:

> Some viewers criticised the film's supposedly stereotypical depiction of rural Zulus, in particular the villagers as small-minded, gossiping and ignorant. The Forum for Traditional Healers of South Africa attacked the film for suggesting that traditional healers are uninformed on the causes and symptoms of HIV/Aids … the most damning criticism identified that the simplistic dialogue, poor choice of phrases and lack of nuance reveal a lack of proper research. (2006: 51)

Furthermore, Maingard argues that the film's focus on the lonely plight of an individual,

does not give adequate recognition to the 'generous community spirit that often abounds in villages, especially amongst women' (2008: 162). In the following analysis of the film, I will draw on the aforementioned praises and criticisms, the production context of the film and Roodt's filmic vision outlined above relating these to specific examples from the film. In the process, I will pay particular attention to questions of identity, representation and mediation within the transnational networks of film production, circulation and consumption.

Section Two

8.7. Filmic Analysis

Yesterday opens with a black screen with a legend that reads: *Ehlobo* (Summer). This screen fades into a picturesque, rural scene of a mountain range filmed at ground level. As the camera slowly tracks from left to right, it reveals a barren, rural landscape of dust, stony ground, dry, windswept grass, a broken barbed wire fence and hazy mountains. This desolate, somewhat hostile environment combines with sound effects – the sound of the wind, the repetitive plucking of a jaws harp and breathy, guttural vocals – creating a feeling of tense anticipation and unease.[92] As the camera pans to the right, a dirt road is revealed, and two distant figures become apparent. The camera remains still as they approach. 'The length of time this takes indicates the length of their journey and the unhurried pace of life' (Horne 2005: 173). As they come nearer, a conversation between the two figures – a woman dressed in a brightly patterned pinafore and her young child – becomes audible. The little girl, Beauty, questions her mother in their native tongue, Zulu, why she is not a bird, explaining that if she were, then she would be able to fly places and it would not be necessary to walk so far. Her mother's good-humoured, patient interaction in this conversation is indicative of the close, loving relationship that exists between them.

[92] The jaws harp is also known as a jew's harp, mouth harp, Ozark harp, trump and juice harp. It is a plucked idiophone that consists of a flexible tongue or reed that is attached to a frame. It is made of metal or bamboo and is played by plucking the reed while holding the frame against the performer's mouth for resonance. The change in shape of the mouth cavity changes to the tone of the note and produces harmonics.

The opening sequence of this film introduces us to some key elements of the narrative. For example, the legend *Ehlobo* (Summer) is indicative of the temporal frame in which the action is set and the structure of the narrative, which like the life of these rural people, is connected to the passing seasons. Horne argues that the sequencing device – the chronological, seasonal structure of the narrative – 'creates a sense of the relentlessness of the passage of time and the inexorability of death' (Horne 2005: 172). The importance of time is further emphasised through the title of the film, and the name of the protagonist, 'Yesterday', which not only 'asserts the centrality of the main protagonist's individual life and character in the film,' but also 'suggests other meanings relating to the significance of time in the story' (Ibid.). The focus on the landscape in this opening sequence brings further attention to the significance of the natural environment in this rural-setting. In fact, the most striking visual feature in this film is 'the beautifully shot background landscape; the remote villages, open skies and majestic mountains transport the viewer to rural Zululand and the realities of daily life lived there' (Tomaselli 2007: 50). As mentioned above, the severity of the landscape serves to create a sense of unease – a warning of the tragedy about to unfold and also an indication of the social hardship and poverty of the people. This theme of poverty is further emphasised in the dialogue, which 'calls attention to how poor they are: travelling by motorized transport seems as much of a possibility as flying' (Horne 2005: 173)

On the road, the pair comes across two women who are also travelling on foot. Through a brief conversation, Yesterday learns that they are teachers and that they have been on the road, searching for work for almost two years. When they ask where the closest village is, Yesterday replies that it is her village, Rooihoek, and that it is 'not too close, but not too far.' They have been walking for about two hours, she explains. This scene serves to reiterate the theme of poverty hardship. However, despite the adversity of their circumstances, the conversation between Yesterday and these women is positive and light and the facial expressions are cheerful. Yesterday's happy, somewhat childlike demeanour combines with a simplistic dialogue to reinforce the feeling of innocence initiated in Beauty's earlier questions. Roodt notes that this is reflective of his intention to explore a style that he has termed 'cinema naiveté' in this film: a style which is representative of South Africa's youth as a nation and its relatively new arrival on the international cinema

scene (2004: DVD commentary). This 'naiveté' is further evident in the deliberate 'odd ball' oblique camera angles used here, which make the figures seem distorted and comical. The large sunglasses worn by one of the teachers, and Yesterday's colourful, simple attire further accentuate this sense of innocence and lack of sophistication.

After a long, dusty walk, Beauty and Yesterday arrive at a churchyard to find a queue of people waiting in the sun. From a conversation that she has with the lady in front of her, Yesterday learns that this is the line to see the doctor, and that if she wanted to be seen today, she should have arrived much earlier. And indeed, after hours of waiting, Yesterday and many others are sent home. In the director's commentary, Roodt notes that this scene is designed to expose the harsh reality of life for the poor in South Africa, where access to medical care is a continual struggle (2004: DVD commentary). Although Yesterday's face shows her disappointment, like the other unlucky patients, she accepts her fate with graciousness, and starts the long walk home. This stoic attitude echoes the hopefulness of the two teachers discussed above and is indicative of Roodt's intention to show how people like Yesterday, who have so little, seldom complain about their dire situations (Ibid.).

It is clear however, from Yesterday's persistent nightly cough that she is in serious need of medical attention. Her weak physical state is evident when she collapses the following day when hoeing the field in preparation for planting. Nevertheless, although she attempts to see the doctor again the following week, when she and Beauty arrive at the clinic they encounter the same long queue and are once again turned away. A close-up of Yesterday's face on hearing the news displays her fatigue and disappointment. Horne (2005) explains that 'her facial expressions, registering her response to her environment, become a central point of interest and establish our sense of her importance as a character' (173). Moreover, 'the device of repetition, where the director shows her going through the same futile process week after week, builds concern for her as well as awareness of the inadequacy of the health services available to her' (Horne 2005: 174).

Upon arriving home, Yesterday goes to collect water at the communal pump. This is always a place of lively conversation, laughter and gossip as the women wait in line for their turn. When she has filled her plastic drum with water, we follow her on her walk towards her

hut. After being told by a neighbour that Beauty is playing in the nearby field, she goes inside. The next image we encounter is the cracked, mud bricks of her house. The camera inches slowly across this exterior until it allows us a glimpse of her collapsed body lying in the doorway. The ominous music builds as we wait for help to come. Eventually Beauty arrives, and, when she is unable to wake her mother, she runs off calling for help. Roodt notes that the slow shot used in this scene is indicative of his conscious effort to make the film 'not American' and to invoke 'another era' (DVD commentary, 2004).

Threatening rain clouds precede a scene inside a dark hut. Yesterday has come here to be treated by a *sangoma* (traditional healer). The healer is most displeased when she learns that Yesterday only came to her after two failed attempts to see the doctor. The light inside the hut falls dramatically from a single window onto their faces. Yesterday is asked to blow into a bag of divination bones before the *sangoma* throws these onto the floor. She tells Yesterday that her illness is caused by repressed anger and asks her what she has to be angry about. Yesterday replies that she is not angry. Unsatisfied with the answer, the *sangoma* repeats her question. Once again Yesterday affirms that she is not angry. This repetitive exchange continues until the *sangoma* gives up, warning her that if she does not let go of this anger she will never recover. The representation of the healer in this scene has been highly criticised. For example, Wozniak (2007) argues that '*Yesterday* mocks the *sangoma* for her incompetence' (332). Furthermore he stated that:

> The impoverished lifestyle of the main character and her AIDS-infected mineworker-husband find neither help nor solace with the badly-presented, shallow and incompetent Sangoma who neither understands Yesterday's personal agony nor even the most basic principles of emotional support. The weak character of the traditional healer is a mockery of the valid attempts by government and medical institutions to involve primary health care practitioners countrywide in the AIDS- prevention campaign (Wozniak 2007: 334) [93]

In the director's commentary on the DVD, Roodt admits that he got into a fair amount of trouble for this scene (2004). However, he defends himself by saying that he did consult

[93] Nattrass has explained that 'in recognition of the cultural importance of traditional healing for many of its members, TAC has developed a constructive approach towards traditional healers, has done so explicitly within a paradigm that privileges science' (2008:181).

local traditional healers, and, the actors themselves, who were all Zulus, also played a major role in this portrayal. Nevertheless, he confesses that this is indeed his worst scene of the film. He feels most uncomfortable when he watches it because he can see that he was attempting to push a certain point of view – a belief that it is 'difficult for traditional healers to consult on HIV when they are not familiar with the fundamentals of the disease' (Ibid.). This scene might be related to the wider tension that has marked the relationship between traditional/ alternative medicine and scientifically proven biomedical interventions in the ongoing fight for ARVs in South Africa. It can also been viewed as a plot device, since the *sangoma's* reading carries a 'psycho-spiritual truth which is later to emerge. Yesterday does indeed have cause to be angry, although she does not realise it at this stage' (Horne 2005: 174).

In the film, Yesterday befriends one of the teachers whom we met in the opening sequence. This teacher, played by Harriet Lenabe, was selected to work in the local school. Over tea one night, they chat and Yesterday tells her about the difficulty that she has encountered in trying to see a doctor. The teacher encourages her to get a taxi to the clinic the next day to avoid being late again. Yesterday insists, however, that the taxi fare of R5 is just a waste of money. The teacher decides to take action and the following morning, Yesterday awakes to find a taxi ready to take her to the clinic. On this occasion, Yesterday is early enough to see the doctor. When Yesterday introduces herself, the doctor asks where she acquired her name. She explains that her father gave it to her because he said that things were better yesterday than they are today. Horne argues that there 'is considerable irony in Yesterday's father's belief that the world of yesterday was better than the world of the present since the tragic turn his daughter's life takes is directly linked to events in the past' (Horne 2005: 172). However, in a sense, this belief is also true because, as Yesterday is made aware of the possible severity of her medical condition, it does indeed seem that her life, and the lives of millions of others, *was* better in the past before the spread of HIV/AIDS.

When the doctor examines her chest, she looks concerned and asks if she can do a blood test. Yesterday is alarmed. Perhaps to her, a blood test suggests that her illness is serious. It also appears that she finds the concept of 'taking blood' itself to be very strange and frightening. Her anxiety increases when she is given a consent form to read and sign. Her

lack of education and naivety are emphasised when we realise that she is illiterate. Horne notes that 'the print on the form is 'deliberately out of focus so we also see it as illegible and share her experience of illiteracy' (Horne 2005: 174). When the doctor realises Yesterday's dilemma, she accepts her verbal agreement instead and proceeds to take a blood sample. The methods used by the doctor in this scene, effectively contrast the western, scientific, biomedicine with the belief system of the *sangoma* (Ibid.). Furthermore, the camera's focus on the needle piercing Yesterday's skin, 'followed by an extreme close-up shot of her face screwed up in fear and pain,' provides visual emphasis to this procedure, and serves to warn the viewer of the 'momentous effects its verdict will have on her life' (Ibid.).

One week later we find Yesterday back in the doctor's room. The scene opens with an extreme close-up of her face. This blurred, distorted image and ominous, ambient sounds combine to reflect her state of being as she sits in a swirling cloud of horror and disbelief. One assumes that the doctor has just informed her of her HIV status. The doctor speaks to her about her sexual habits and how she might have contracted the virus. It is clear from Yesterday's answers, that she has 'no awareness of her possible cause of infection, and that she finds it difficult and uncomfortable to answer the doctor's questions' (Horne 2005: 174). When the doctor inquires whether she uses a condom, her 'bewildered expression and naive question 'but why? I am a married woman,' indicate that she thinks of condoms 'only for the purposes of contraception, has never doubted her husband's fidelity and has been completely faithful herself' (Horne 2005: 175). In response to the doctor's question, Yesterday explains that her husband works in a mine in Johannesburg and affirms that when he is home, they enjoy a healthy sex life. Does the doctor not know what men are like when 'time has past?' she questions. Horne argues that this comment carries the 'unspoken implicature that men expect sex frequently when the wife is available. Her words and resigned tone of voice suggest that she uncritically accepts that it is the man's prerogative to demand sex how and whenever he likes, regardless of the women's feelings' (Ibid.).

The doctor urges Yesterday to contact her husband because she needs to test him urgently. However, when she asks which mine her husband works for, Yesterday admits that she does not know. Not only does this ignorance place emphasis on her innocence but it also

points to her 'unfamiliarity with the sprawling mine complex of the Rand, and situates her even more firmly within the realm of her rurality' (Hodes 2008: 11). Furthermore, Yesterday's response reveals the 'director's explicit purpose to express to the viewer that infected city-dwellers are the source of the disease, and that the promiscuous habits supposedly rife among Johannesburg's mining communities are to blame for the spread of HIV to the country' (Ibid.). Lastly, implicit in the conversation, is that Yesterday contracted HIV from her husband, which links to the recurrent theme in cinema of 'male responsibility for the spread of the HIV/AIDS pandemic' (Hodes 2008: 35).

Following this final question, the conversation comes to a halt and ominous music builds as Yesterday contemplates her situation. She asks fearfully whether this means that she will 'stop living?' The doctor looks down and presses her lips together tightly. Her silence is confirmation that this is indeed true. This silence can be seen as an aural signifier of the 'treatment vacuum that exists for people like Yesterday [leaving] the audience to wonder why no treatment or information is offered at this critical moment, since without treatment, Yesterday's premature death is inevitable' (Horne 2005: 175). The music swells as the camera rises to produce a series of cut and paste, awkward shots. The two figures below become smaller, and the viewer 'looks further and further downwards at them in the small consulting room. The final high camera angle makes them seem trapped at the bottom of what resembles a pit. This technique creates dramatic awareness of the helplessness of professional and patient in this situation' (Ibid.). The lighting in this sequence is also significant. A side window allows light to fall dramatically onto the doctor, while Yesterday sitting opposite her remains in darkness, as if death has already enveloped her.

A slow pan across the cracked mud-brick wall of Yesterday's house takes us to the melancholic expression of this mother, standing unobserved at her doorway, as she watches her daughter play. It is clear that the director intends to show that in finding out about her foreshortened life, Yesterday's primary concern is for her daughter's wellbeing. Following the doctor's instructions to speak to her husband, she journeys to Johannesburg, leaving Beauty in the safe custody of the teacher. As the windy country road nears the city, a mouth

bow song plays ethnic music, reminiscent of that which was heard in the opening scene.[94] This uneasy sound builds the tension as Yesterday nears the unfamiliar, fast world of the city. However, while previously this indigenous music was muted, in this scene, it is loud, with the voice rising 'to a frightening cry and accompanied by shrill, unnerving female ululation. By now, this music has become established as an index of Yesterday's emotional state, recurring as a *leitmotif* throughout the film' (Horne 2005: 176).

Numerous, black shadows moving rapidly over a shiny, paved surface, indicate that we have entered an urban environment. These fleeting shadows symbolise the 'ephemerality and indifference' of city dwellers and provide a contrast to the familiar community of Yesterday's village (Hodes 2008: 12). A series of shots follow her as she moves through the city walking through crowds, sitting wide-eyed on the bus clutching her suitcase and standing at the foot of monstrous skyscrapers. 'The dizzying heights and sharp angles of the buildings, combined with the cacophony of urban noises that combine on the soundtrack, are in pointed contrast to the calm, quiet slowness of Yesterday's village' (Ibid). These oblique camera angles also emphasise Yesterday's vulnerability and naiveté in this new environment and 'have a confusing, destabilizing effect so that we experience the city from Yesterday's perspective as an alien, intimidating, threatening place' (Horne 2005: 176). She finds her way to the mine and goes in search of her husband, John Khumalo. 'As she enters this all male environment, her presence is met with catcalls from the men and rudeness from the mine official that she approaches (Ibid.). Images of 'whirring machines towering above her further emphasise Yesterday's alienation and anxiety, as well as the dehumanizing nature of the mine's mechanics' (Hodes 2008: 12).

The mine official instructs her to wait for her husband in the passageway until he finishes his shift. She stands there in the dark and waits for the miners to emerge. When the crowd of workers arrives, one tall man in overalls and boots stops dead in his tracks when he notices her. It is clear that this is her husband, John. It is also evident that he is shocked, if not displeased to see her there. It can only mean bad news. 'What do you want?' he asks

[94] Although it is difficult to confirm, from my background in ethnomusicology, I believe this instrument to be an indigenous Zulu *umhubhe* bow, which consists of a piece of taught string or wire fastened to a hollow reed or piece of wood. The *umhubhe* is played by holding the reed to the mouth and scraping a dry read or rudimentary bow across the string with the mouth acting as a resonator. As the player changes the shape and size of his/her mouth cavity, different harmonics are created and a melody can be produced.

bluntly. 'Is something wrong with Beauty?' She assures him that Beauty is fine. It is him that she wants to see. 'Me?' he asks 'Me? Why do you want to see me?' The camera then switches to an image of the noisy machinery churning outside and then cuts again to an interior location. We now watch their stilted conversation through the barred window of the mine official's office – 'a symbolic site of masculine authority' (Horne 2005: 176). We can see silhouettes of John's tall figure standing with his back to us and the much smaller, blurred form of Yesterday facing the camera from a distance. It is clear from John's frantic arm movements that he is getting quite worked up. Their words are unclear and subtitled so it is difficult to follow their conversation. Nevertheless, one can guess that she is informing him of her diagnosis. Suddenly, John lunges forward and attacks her. We hear muffled screams. The mine official turns around and observes what is happening. However, he does not intervene but just shakes his head and continues to read his paper.

The violence in this scene is most disturbing, particularly since the official's casual reaction suggests that it is quite commonplace. In the director's commentary, Roodt notes that it was not his intention to paint a bad picture of black men. He argues that any person would have had an extreme reaction to this news, although, he does admit that he is not sure whether all would have turned to such violence (2004: DVD commentary). Hodes (2008) notes that Yesterday's journey to Johannesburg is 'in keeping with the South African cinematic tradition of the country bumpkin's 'epic voyage' (11).[95] However, while these predecessors illustrate the moral corruption 'that conventionally accompanies the urbanisation of rural characters in South African films,' because Yesterday's visit is too brief for this, she is rather 'subjected to the violence and alienation that affirms the dystopic nature of Johannesburg' (Ibid.). As she travels home by taxi, Yesterday stares out of the window blankly. Her face is swollen. Her lip is cut. To the accompaniment of gentle *maskanda* guitar, she has flashbacks of better days.[96] In these scenes, we witness John waiting for her outside their house smiling, them embracing before his departure and her receiving a generous present from him. In this sequence, the images have been made hazy, to invoke a sense of the dreamlike, intangible nature of memory. These scenes stand in stark contrast to

[95] Please refer to *Jim Comes to Joburg* (1949), *Come Back Africa* (1959), *Cry, the Beloved Country* (1995) and the more recent *Max and Mona* (2005) for examples.
[96] *Maskanda* is an indigenous style of Zulu music. It consists of complicated finger-plucked melodies accompanied by solo voice. More recent *maskanda* bands sometimes include backing vocals, bass guitar and drums.

the film's otherwise simple, stark aesthetic. Roodt notes that he finds them to be the most contrived, and if the producers had not insisted on their dramatic importance, he would have certainly removed them because they interfere with the 'purity' of the film (2004: DVD commentary). Nevertheless, this sequence is illuminating because by juxtaposing 'John's personality when at home in the village, and his brutal demeanour on the mine' this poignant montage serves to reinforce the representation of the city as a place of 'destabilisation and despair' (Hodes 2008: 13).

Upon Yesterday's return to the village, the time-marker *Ubusika* (winter) appears, functioning 'semiotically as an omen of a harsher world and approaching death. The environment is now even more arid, windswept and bleak' (Horne 2005: 177). In the opening scenes of this section, we watch Yesterday in her struggle to keep up with her everyday chores. After returning home one day from chopping firewood, she finds her husband sitting outside her hut. 'His skeletal frame and blemished skin serve as fatal signs of full-blown AIDS' (Ibid). That night, in a close-up interior scene, we witness a tender encounter between husband and wife as he recounts his experience of degradation and humiliation at the mine. They sit at opposite ends of the table. The room is lit by the low light of a single candle and paraffin lamp. John sits shivering and sobbing with a blanket around his shoulders as he recounts his story. While HIV/AIDS had caused tuberculosis in Yesterday's body, in John's case, he was plagued by uncontrollable diarrhoea. However, since there are no toilets underground, he was forced to mess repeatedly in his pants and stank like an animal. Horne notes that for a film generally characterised 'by verbal sparcity, this scene is unusual for the length of the husband's monologue' (2005: 178). His stooped shoulders and huddled body position serving to 'convey his profound shame and self-disgust' (Ibid.). As John explains how the foreman eventually sent him to the doctor who did tests and confirmed what she had told him, he breaks down completely and cries like a child. At this point, Yesterday rises quickly and embraces him. The abusive husband has been transformed 'into a weak and pathetic child … gone is his swaggering arrogance: victimizer has become victim' (Horne 2005: 177). Yesterday's display of compassion at this point serves to develop a greater sense of audience identification with her character. Firstly, because she has displayed the likeable quality of kindness, and secondly because

the power relations have been shifted. She has become the stronger character in the film: our heroine.

Subsequently, we find Yesterday back at the doctor. When the doctor commends her good health, she explains that it is not her body that is strong, but her mind. She is determined to stay alive until her daughter starts school the following year. This serves as further evidence of her strength, control and commitment to help her family. However, upon returning home to her bed-ridden, rapidly ailing husband, she is reminded of their tragedy and her strength wavers. She cannot hold her grief anymore. She steps into the field outside, holds her head in her hands and cries. This is the first time that we have had true access to her suffering. The image of her solitary, small frame crying in the field, reminds one that she bears this burden alone. Subsequently, we find her inside cooking supper. The teacher comes to visit and requests to speak urgently. She informs Yesterday that everyone in the village is talking about her husband. They do not want him to stay in the village because they say that he has HIV. 'Is it true?', she asks. Yesterday confirms that indeed it is so and confides that she too is infected. When the teacher asks why she has never told her, Yesterday shares a story about a young university student from the nearby town of Bergville who was stoned to death 'when it became known that she was HIV-positive' (Horne 2005: 177).[97] This story is indicative of the fear that Yesterday feels about disclosing her status to the community due to the widespread denial and stigma associated with HIV/AIDS in South Africa (Ibid.).

At sunset the following day, the teacher and the villagers meet at the school to discuss the issue. She attempts to educate them about HIV and assures that it can only be transmitted through surgical needles or sex. However, the women do not listen and exclaim that Yesterday's husband must leave the village. Subsequently, at the communal water pump the women discuss the problem. 'Your husbands are bringing it to you', one says. 'Yes, we get it from them' replies the other. Another bickers, 'you must see how she coughs!' As Yesterday approaches the pump, the women scramble away. She is an outcast. The representation of the villagers in such scenes has attracted certain criticism. It has been

[97] This scene makes reference to a real incident that took place in 1998, in which a university student Gugu Dlamini, was stoned to death by her community in her hometown of KwaMacinza (Horne 2005: 188-9).

argued that these individuals have been stereotyped as small-minded, mean characters with no knowledge of HIV (Wozniak 2007: 332). Furthermore, Hodes notes that the message in this exchange is clear. Once again the city is shown to be 'the source of the disease, and that migrating husbands are the vectors' (Hodes 2008: 14).

The reaction of the villagers drives Yesterday to approach a local hospital to enquire whether her husband might be admitted. The nurse, however, explains that that they are full to capacity and the waiting list is very long. Here, we are reminded of the inadequate medical facilities available to the poor in South Africa. Moreover, due to the general lack of 'rural male presence in the rest of the film, the footage of the hospital ward, whose patients are solely young black men like John, conveys a sense that they too were migrants, who, as in his case, have returned home to die' (Hodes 2008: 39). Yesterday decides to take the situation into her own hands and starts to build a 'hospital' for her husband. She and Beauty go around the village collecting material: bits of wood, corrugated iron and scraps of metal. They hammer these items together to create rudimentary hut. In the director's commentary, Roodt notes that this is a very important, symbolic sequence in the film. In fact, he was originally going to call the film 'The Hut that Yesterday Built' after this sequence because this title captures the naiveté that he is attempting to convey in the film. He also explains, however, that it is a very contrived scene, since it would have been impossible for the ailing Yesterday to construct this hut. Yet, Horne notes that through the accomplishment of this seemingly impossible task, Yesterday displays 'independence, resourcefulness and courage' and that this serves as evidence that she has taken control over her situation and shows that she refuses to 'live fearfully and be at the mercy of the villagers' intolerance' (2005: 179). Once the structure is built, she goes home to collect her husband. He is extremely thin and walks with great difficulty. With Yesterday's support and the aid of a walking stick, the family walk towards the hut that lies on a deserted field on the outskirts of the village. The villagers look on as the family struggles past. The uncontrollable wobbling of his thin, distorted body is accentuated by the use of slow motion in this shot. The isolation and 'unsightliness' of the hut is significant, and works as a visual index of the way she and her husband have been 'forced into a position of liminality;' into an existential state that lies 'between the living and the dead' (Ibid.). Inside this lonely, humble abode,

John spends his final days as Yesterday waits patiently at his side, nursing him as his life force slowly fades.

The legend *Ehlobo Futhi*, serves as a somewhat paradoxical announcement at this tragic point in the narrative that summer has returned. In the opening sequence, we see Yesterday, dressed in black, standing at her husband's grave. The teacher approaches her and they discuss the opening of school the following week. Yesterday explains that she is very excited because she was never able to attend school herself. In this intimate moment, her friend assures her that when the end comes; she will love Beauty as her own daughter. This reminder of her absence in her child's future life seems to drive Yesterday into rage. In the following scene, we watch as she attacks the makeshift hut, bashing the pathetic walls with a sledgehammer. The importance of this act is accentuated through the use of slow motion. In exhaustion, she collapses onto the floor and cries. As the scene with the greatest degree of emotional tension in the film, this scene might be viewed as the climax of the narrative. Roodt notes that this act is symbolic, and serves to bring a sense of emotional catharsis to Yesterday, as she battles to come to terms with the loss of her husband and her own impending death (2004: DVD commentary). Hornes concurs that this second outburst of anger is of great importance in the narrative, since it is a 'defining moment' in the development of her character' (2005: 179). By this point she has fully realised 'the injustice of what has happened to her and gives full expression to this realization' (Horne 2005: 179-180). The choice of the shack as the object of her rage is not arbitrary, since it is directly associated 'with the horror of disease, dying and death. It is also an icon of the shame and stigmatisation and the hurt of ostracism. Its solid presence is a symbol of all that is wrong in society, and all that has gone wrong in her life' (Horne 2005: 180.). The soundtrack works to build dramatic tension because, instead of recording the blows of the hammer, Roodt has chosen to use the ethnic music of the opening scene. 'Yesterday's silent screams suggest metaphorically that her agony goes unheard and unnoticed by the outside world' (Ibid.).

Following this outburst, we find Yesterday sitting on Beauty's bed in a state of deep sadness as she watches her brushing her teeth over an enamel basin. She calls Beauty over to her and offers her a gift. It is a school suitcase with a uniform inside it. Beauty is

delighted with the present. In the final scene, we find her at school wearing her new attire. She stands in a long line with other children as they wait to enter the building. She waves at her mother and smiles. 'A close up view of her [Yesterday's] face behind the padlocked gate, which functions as a symbol of the barrier that will soon part them for ever, shows her smile of greeting slowly dissolve into an expression of profound sadness' (Horne 2005: 181). Yesterday has effectively reached her reason for being. Beauty's triumph also symbolises her demise. She stays there, watching her daughter for some time, before retreating slowly. As she walks away, the camera rises up and within a few seconds, she has become a tiny, indistinct figure in the vast rural landscape. The volume of the music reduces to a whisper as she disappears, and the screen fades to black for the credits.

Roodt notes that he would have preferred a 'lighter ending' because he finds that the film almost 'implodes' here: it dies down too quickly and effectively 'strangles itself' (2004: DVD commentary). He explains that originally, he envisioned Yesterday's determination being able to carry her from Beauty's first day at primary school to high school and beyond (Ibid.). However, the producers preferred this more indefinite end to the story. Although Roodt views this closure to be somewhat sad, if he had paid the same attention to Yesterday's death as he did to her husband's, it would have been far more depressing. His choice not to detail her passing might be seen as an attempt to maintain audience identification with the protagonist since showing her in a state of weakness and disease might have resulted in certain alienation (Horne 2005: 181). The conclusion can also be viewed as a framing device since it echoes the opening sequence of the film when we see Yesterday approaching us on the road. However, while in the earlier sequence, she is walking towards us with Beauty, at the end of the film, we watch as her solitary figure disappears into the landscape. Horne argues that this framing device gives an epic quality to her journey, 'elevating the event of her life and suffering. The circularity of the structure also brings a degree of closure to the events of her life. We are aware that she has achieved her major goal – to see Beauty start school' (Horne 2005: 182). The protagonist's achievement of this goal at the close of the film can be linked to the restorative structure, where happy endings are secured through a protagonist's ability to 'rise and overcome internal tension and story conflict' (Dancyger and Rush 2002: 26).

8.8. Conclusion

As a film that highlights the human impact of the tabooed HIV/AIDS epidemic, *Yesterday* can be viewed as a significant milestone in the development of post-apartheid cinema. It can also be linked to the emergence of new voices and the diversification of themes that have come to characterise this period (Botha 2007: 34). As mentioned in the introduction, in this film, Roodt attempted to draw on the work of the Italian neorealist filmmakers of the 1940's and indeed, many elements of this style have been 'domesticated' and incorporated into this local film. However, although *Yesterday* does indeed have strong neorealist elements, it is best viewed as a hybrid film: a blend of classical and neorealist filmmaking (Horne 2005: 186). The mixing of neorealism and the classical narrative structure in *Yesterday* can be understood as a result of Roodt's intention to reach a wider, international market. Furthermore, this might be related to his personal background and past filmmaking experience because, 'despite his admiration of 'alternative' filmmaking styles, he was raised on Hollywood product' (2004: DVD commentary).

Firstly, in terms of narrative structure, the three divisions, the line of action that builds towards a climax and the relatively happy conclusion, combine to link this work to restorative conventions. However, at the same time, the structure is reminiscent of neorealist filmmaking since rather than being tightly structured around plot points, this film is formed around the mutability of the changing seasons. The length of these seasonal sections do not correspond to restorative norms where the first and third acts are generally half the length of the second, because in *Yesterday*, the first section is by far the longest and the subsequent two scenes are progressively shorter. The emphasis on the seasons might be viewed as the director's attempt to link the rhythm of the film to rural life, which is intimately connected to the natural fluctuations of the weather.

A second characteristic that can be seen to link this film to the restorative structure is the focus in the narrative on a single protagonist (Dancyger and Rush 2002: 22). Roodt's choice in this regard has attracted considerable criticism. Firstly, this singular focus results in the networks of support that exist in such communities remaining unacknowledged, including the extended family unit. Secondly, Horne has argued that the film does not

correspond to the real situation, because it gives the impression that Yesterday's and her husband's illness are unusual within their respective rural and urban communities. This, however, does not accord with the national statistics of HIV/AIDS (Horne 2005: 187). On the other hand, one might also argue that this is connected to the social consciousness of neorealism because by foregrounding these individual experiences, Roodt effectively illustrates the dynamics of stigma more effectively than if 'Yesterday and her husband were just two among the many people infected' (Ibid.).

The exclusive use of Zulu in the film is clearly a characteristic of neorealism, which aims to place emphasis on local dialects and languages. While this might be viewed as a marketing tactic to make the work sufficiently 'arty' for the international festival circuit (Roodt 2004: DVD commentary), it is still a direct challenge to the dominance of English in the global industry. This linguistic choice also links to the general ideology of the film, which actively defies the norms of the dominant patriarchal discourse (Horne 2005: 184). Hornes argues that according to structuralist theorists, filmic texts are based on 'hidden structures organized around key oppositions' (Ibid.). In *Yesterday*, Roodt effectively reverses the order of such structures, by valorising female, black, poor, rural and Zulu speaking people, rather than the traditionally prioritised male, white, rich, urban and English population. Thus, he can be seen to contest 'the prevailing ideology and substitutes it with an ideology that foregrounds what would normally be secondary or marginalized' (Ibid.).

Feminist ideology can thus be seen to inform this work. This is evident in Roodt's choice to make a rural woman the protagonist of a heroic story (Horne 2005: 183). It is further apparent in his choosing to cast a female doctor, which runs contrary to normative expectations (Horne 2005: 182). Nevertheless, Horne notes that both of these characters are attractive young women and can therefore be seen to partially confirm patriarchal sexist conventions (Horne 2005: 182). The film can also be seen to challenge certain racial stereotypes. For example, the characterisation of the white South African doctor as a compassionate person who is fluent in Zulu directly contradicts the stereotype of this evil, uncaring persona (Horne 2005: 184). Furthermore, this might be viewed as an example of a hybridised identity: as a site of resistance to the stereotyped racial, gendered and cultural identities of apartheid and colonialism.

Roodt's choice to use a black protagonist is a further challenge to established racial hierarchies in the media. However, since it is about poverty and disease, it can arguably be seen to feed existing Western stereotypes of the diseased and poor African continent (Hall 2007: 36). Moreover, with regards to black representation, as mentioned above, many critics have pointed to the problematic portrayal of the *sangoma* in the film. For example, Rijsdijk (2007) has made an interesting comparison between the representation of the doctor's and the *sangoma's* respective personas in this film. While the *sangoma* is shown to be a 'weak and incompetent character', the white medical doctor, on the other hand, is compassionate 'but is neither authoritative nor moralising nor condescending' (Rijsdijk 2007: 328). As mentioned previously, South Africa's response to the HIV/AIDS epidemic has been marked by a profound tension between biomedical and traditional medicine. Thus, it is not surprising that this is evident in a film about HIV/AIDS. However, when viewed from a racial perspective this portrayal is problematic, because the only white person in the film it represented in a positive light, while the black healer and the villagers, are shown to be small-minded, mean and uneducated. This stereotype is enforced by the fact that the only other compassionate character, the black schoolteacher, has been effectively 'westernised' and educated through her training in a 'Western' schooling system.

The spatial dichotomy that is developed in the film between the city as a place of violence and disease and the village as a place of calm and peace might be seen to feed into a preconception that black people should maintain a traditional way of life in the rural areas. This discourse is most problematic since it is directly linked to the separatist, oppressive system of apartheid. Nevertheless, if one considers that Yesterday's rural home later becomes a site of a most sinister, silent violence at the hands of her community, it is also arguable that Roodt actually challenges this dichotomy in the film. Lastly, the characterisation of Yesterday as an innocent, naïve, rurally bound persona can also be seen to feed into a racial typecast. On the other hand, since this innocence is effectively broken through her expression of anger at the climax, perhaps this film might be seen as a means to expose viewers, through a character-driven story, to the violent injustice of prevailing societal structures in South Africa and many other developing countries.

As mentioned in the analysis of the film's conclusion above, the need to create a feel-good story can be linked to restorative Hollywood conventions. This characteristic is also evident in the slogan on the advertising poster: 'love has the power to change our tomorrows.' This message effectively implies that as 'Yesterday's love for her child gives her the strength of mind to defer death until her child starts school' (Horne 2005: 182), so too can others can also achieve their goals and dreams when they are terminally ill (Ibid.). This positive message was echoed in an interview with Roodt, when he stated that he wanted viewers to have a sense that 'even if you've got nothing, you can still rise above these terrible things that challenge us, not just AIDS, but poverty … Whatever it is that you can rise above it if you've got a strong heart!' (pers. comm. 2008). This approach can be linked to his belief that 'African culture has this natural kind of buoyancy … A joy of life. Even in the most dire, difficult circumstances, people just rise above it' (Yesterday the Movie nd: online resource). Not only is this assumption rather stereotypical, but also it is at odds with reality since 'no amount of love could prolong Yesterday's life indefinitely once she was infected (Horne 2005: 182). Furthermore, Macarow has pointed out that while we see the husband die and 'Yesterday's health wane, we do not find out whether their daughter has HIV' (2008: 98). One could add to this, by noting that the teacher's adoption of Beauty serves to mask the fate of the millions of orphaned and abandoned children who end up in ill-equipped, over-populated hospitals and homes throughout sub-Saharan Africa.[98] Thus, this 'false' resolution to the film has led Hees (2007) to question whether 'melodrama posing as realism' in films such as *Forgiveness*, *Yesterday* and *Tsotsi* does 'not encourage a kind of commodification of sorrow that leads to entirely false (fictional) resolutions of individual problems that need more critical investigation?' (Macarow 2008: 92)

The director's appeal to authenticity in *Yesterday*, is a characteristic of neorealism. This is evident in his use of original locations, local languages and by the focus on 'real' social conditions. However, many critics have found fault with his interpretation of such 'facts.' Firstly, Tomaselli noted that one Zulu viewer pointed out that the subtitles were not entirely accurate (2007: 51).[99] Others have questioned why the film did not depict the rollout of

[98] In 2006, this figure was estimated to be 12 million (Stillwaggon 2006:4).
[99] I checked the subtitles carefully myself and found that although they did not always provide a word-for-word translation of the Zulu dialogue, they were a satisfactory English translation. I also asked a native Zulu

antiretroviral treatment in South Africa (Larkin 2006: 137). While it is true that antiretroviral drugs were being provided at the time of the film's release, such treatment was not available at the time of production. Furthermore, as discussed in the introduction, when the rollout did occur, it was so minimal it would be quite understandable if a director chose to rather highlight the plight of HIV/AIDS sufferers who were not receiving treatment. Roodt has also been careful to point out that 'a little film like Yesterday isn't going to solve' major problems like HIV/AIDS stigmatization' (Roodt quoted in Vermeren 2006: 64). Thus, rather than being a tool designed to directly tackle or accurately document the HIV/AIDS epidemic in the country, this is a fictional story, one which like Roodt and Singh's films made during apartheid, aims to engage the audience to reflect on societal atrocities and problems (Singh nd: online resource). Roodt explains that he wanted to avoid messaging. He just wanted to tell a very simple, open-ended story (Roodt nd: online resource). The filmmakers' focus on entertainment rather than on truth and didacticism in *Yesterday* is significant and can be related to a general shift in African cinema away from politics and ideology towards entertainment, leisure and fantasy (Harrow 2007: xiii-xiv; Saks 2003: 157). Moreover, Horne notes that 'while Roodt refrains from making overt political statements, he nevertheless succeeds in using Yesterday's story to show – in an understated way – how intimately AIDS is tied to socio-economic and cultural dynamics such as stigma, poverty, migrant labour, income inequalities and gender relations' (2005: 193).

Thus, it can be concluded that despite certain criticism and identified shortfalls, as one of the first features to directly acknowledge and illuminate the human impact of HIV/AIDS in South Africa, *Yesterday* remains an important, progressive addition to the post-apartheid cinematic repertoire. Furthermore, Roodt's application of certain neorealist elements in the film might also be seen as a breakthrough in an industry where the pervasive influence of Hollywood is evident not only in the distribution, exhibition and consumption practices of the country, but also in the widespread application of the classical conventions in cinematic production. In this regard, one might argue that the small, locally funded budget of this film allowed Roodt greater freedom and room for experimentation than Maseko and Boorman,

speaker to double check on my behalf, and she was also happy with the subtitles. This is not to say, however, that no errors exist, but rather that this does not appear to be a major problem in the film.

who were both involved in larger-budget international co-productions. I think that it is clear from the analyses of *Drum* and *In My Country* above that these directors were under greater pressure to meet the needs of multiple producers and to make an internationally successful product than Roodt was. Nevertheless, this is not to say that *Yesterday* is a 'perfect' or 'pure' film which tells the 'truth' and is free from any outside influences, commercial objectives or export orientations. On the contrary, I think that it is clear from the analysis above, that *Yesterday* is best viewed as a hybrid product and as an epidemiologically informed, yet personal interpretation of the human impact of the HIV/AIDS epidemic in a rural community of South Africa.

Chapter Nine: Conclusions

9.1. Overview

This thesis provides a critical analysis of some key manifestations of contemporary South African cinema. Through the application of qualitative and quantitative research methods, I have conducted a detailed study of the film industry with the aim of understanding how the socio-economic conditions of the post-apartheid state influence the representation of national identity in South African filmmaking, in particular in the production of feature films. The discussions presented make reference both to the country's recent history under apartheid and to the political, economic and cultural consequences of its current position as a developing nation in the globalised world. In analysing the identities represented on screen, I have adopted the non-essentialist stance suggested by Harrow (2007) and rather than searching for instances of truth or authenticity, I have focused on questions of power and authority in cinematic production and consumption. Therefore, although I have paid attention to the perpetuation of dominant cultural, racial and gendered stereotypes in film, I have also been careful to focus on production and consumption trends in post-apartheid cinema, on who has access to the means of production and who is informing the identities mediated on screen. Furthermore, although I have considered how the international orientation of the local industry has resulted in the dominance of Hollywood production practices and circuits of consumption, rather than judging this, I have attempted to consider the ways in which the hybrid, internationalised environment of contemporary filmmaking has allowed for equally hybrid, dynamic and progressive identities to be developed.

9.2. Objectives and Research Questions

The arguments presented in this thesis have been developed through multiple objectives and research questions. The first objective of the study was to contribute to the existing body of knowledge on post-apartheid South African cinema. The second objective was to add to the existing understanding of how economics, political ideology and cultural

production interact in post-apartheid cinematic production. To this end, I investigated the processes that characterise post-apartheid cinematic production, distribution and consumption. My aim was to gain a detailed understanding of how such models interact with state policy and politico-economic ideology. The third objective of this study was to analyse the dynamics of representation in post-apartheid cinema and to relate these to prevailing production, distribution and consumption practices. This objective has been explored in Chapters Four and Five through an analysis of general industry trends, prevailing funding models and specific cinematic texts. I achieved this by examining the ways in which specific production finance models have influenced cinematic production and the extent to which the target market of a product informs the national identities represented on screen. The final objective of this study was to assess whether historical barriers to cultural and racial transformation have been transcended in post-apartheid cinema. Here, I questioned whether the state achieved its goal in enabling the previously disadvantaged communities to participate in cinematic production and consumption. Moreover, I attempted to assess the degree to which the black majority currently informs post-apartheid cinematic production. Below, I summarise the findings of this thesis in relation to these objectives.

9.3. Findings

The results of this study indicate that while the state's development of the film industry is informed by a vision of cultural diversity and an intention to empower the previously disadvantaged, an equally pervasive, if not stronger trend of neoliberalism is also present that is sometimes at odds with this vision. Neoliberal characteristics in state policy include fiscal prudence, the avoidance of direct intervention product commodification and an emphasis on production for export. This thesis illustrates that the current neoliberal paradigm evident in state policy has a continued impact on the production, distribution and consumption of post-apartheid cinema. Furthermore, it affects the economic, cultural and ideological development of the film industry. From a production point of view, it was found that many films are made primarily for an export market. This has a number of consequences for such works and the development of the industry as a whole.

Firstly, these films are ostensibly more expensive to produce than those targeting local audiences and the inflated budgets make it more difficult for such works to recoup costs. Secondly, in terms of distribution, an emphasis on export can be seen to curtail the creative self-expression of the artist, with there being a far greater degree of foreign involvement in productions and filmmakers being required to meet internationally-established casting, characterisation, content, narrative structure, language and aesthetics norms. Thirdly, there are ideological implications for this cinematic production and consumption model, because, in order to comply with the expectations of foreign partners and markets, filmmakers tend to perpetuate stereotypical African and South African identities rather than exploring complex, refreshing alternatives.

Therefore, neoliberalism also has implications for racial transformation in the film industry. The development of an economically sustainable cinema in which multiple, progressive and dynamic national identities are formulated and consumed by the majority of the population requires the complete replacement of apartheid's racially biased production and consumption infrastructure. However, it is unlikely that such a transformation will occur within a paradigm that emphasises free trade, avoids the introduction of bold interventionist measures and supports prude fiscal expenditure. Furthermore, a neoliberal approach to cinematic development can result in the voices of the historically suppressed black majority being excluded or censored to meet the commercial demands of the market.

Nevertheless, there are a number of developments in the film industry that can be seen to challenge the dominance of neoliberalism. For example, an alternative production model exists that can potentially grant filmmakers greater freedom in cinematic production and dissemination. This model makes use of digital production and distribution technology and functions with less capital, less outside assistance and has a greater focus on the local market. However, as mentioned in the conclusion to Chapter Five above, one should not view digital cinema as the 'glorious solution' to all the problems of the post-apartheid film industry. On the contrary, this should be approached as an alternative model that is most likely to run parallel to existing technologies. Moreover, it is important to recognise the challenges that limit the application of digital production/consumption technology in the post-apartheid context.

Firstly, it is questionable whether the current exhibition/broadcast mechanisms available for digital products penetrate a wide enough market to sustain this movement. Secondly, it remains to be seen whether the demographics of the audience and the filmmakers themselves, will expand to include a greater percentage of the black majority. Therefore, although digital technology is potentially an ideal mechanism for democratisation of cinematic production and consumption in post-apartheid South Africa, it should not be viewed as a means for independent filmmakers to make it alone. State support is still needed to maintain diversity and to support sustainability.

9.4. Case Studies

In Chapters Four and Five of this thesis, I have explored the aforementioned objectives and research questions through a detailed analysis of the film industry. In Chapter Six, Seven and Eight, I have furthered this inquiry through the analysis of three post-apartheid feature films. To each of these films I have applied the analytical framework established in Chapter Two. In accordance with this framework, subject matter, genre, language, main themes, characterisation, cinematic codes and aesthetic conventions have been considered in relation to the production context, wider socio-political factors, post-apartheid industry trends, global cinematic distribution and consumption, the vision of the filmmaker and questions of agency, representation and truth. In such analyses, I adopt a 'fluid' approach, and rather than attempting to judge whether a filmmaker's representation of national identities is authentic or correct I assume that cinema is open to interpretation and that meaning is both relative and multiple. Below I run through the key findings for each work.

9.4.1. Drum

In Chapter Six, I provide an analysis of the film *Drum*, an international co-production directed by Zola Maseko. *Drum* concerns the life of the outspoken black journalist, Henry Nxumalo and is set in the multi-cultural township of Sophiatown in the 1950's. In this review, I discuss how specific cinematic conventions have been applied in the film and suggest the possible implications for the narrative at hand. Furthermore, I highlight instances of how history and memory have been reinterpreted to reach specific ideological

and aesthetic objectives. Rather than attempting to judge the accuracy of Maseko's reading of this period, I examine how this film, as a hybrid product of consumer culture, intersects with his vision of a national identity in post-apartheid South Africa.

If one looks at the narrative told by Maseko, one finds that although he has explored a somewhat unconventional mix of fact and fiction in the narrative, rather than applying an equally innovative structure, he has chosen to tell this story through the rather conventional three-act form. While one might view this structural choice as an imposition of the foreign partners and an attempt to package South African product for mass consumption, the unity of structure, focus on a single protagonist and emphasis on an idealised society, might also be read as an example of how 'foreign' artistic forms can be domesticated to serve local needs. From this point of view, these restorative characteristics are reflective of a national ideology that is attempting to bring cohesiveness and continuity to a severely divided society and a director's desire to inspire a sense of inclusivity, pride and strength within the black community of post-apartheid South Africa.

9.4.2. *In My Country*

In Chapter Seven, I presented an analysis of *In My Country,* which is an international co-production directed by John Boorman. This film concerns the complex topic of South Africa's Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC). In this analysis, I discuss how the filmmaker has represented this Commission, in particular the concept of *ubuntu*, which is a key element in the national reconciliatory discourse. Like *Drum*, this film conforms largely to the Hollywood three-act conventions. In this text, however, the results are rather problematic since in order to maintain the pace of this structure, the filmmaker simplifies the past into stereotyped characters and iconographic images. Furthermore, the narrative-driven requirements of the realist melodrama genre, result in the exclusive development of the protagonists with secondary characters remaining shallow and their fates unexplained.

There are examples in the film, however, of how the hybrid form of an international co-production can in fact challenge rather than reinforce dominant stereotypes. This is the case with the central protagonist, Anna Malan: a white, Afrikaans woman. Since the restorative

structure requires audiences to identify with the protagonist, it was necessary for her to be a likeable person. Thus, many of the stereotypes typically associated with white Afrikaners in the international media (racist, backward and ugly) have arguably been challenged due to this hybrid, co-production filmmaking model. Nevertheless, this depth and complexity of character has not been maintained in the representation of other white Afrikaners in the film, who can be seen to perpetuate the aforementioned cultural stereotypes. Furthermore, although the filmmaker makes the progressive decision to use a female character for the central protagonist, since Malan is shown to be less emotionally stable than the male journalists at the TRC, it is arguable whether her characterisation sincerely challenges the often-stereotypical representations of women on screen.

These complex, somewhat problematic representations in *In My Country* extend to the portrayal of the victims of the TRC, who despite receiving significant screen time, do not develop as individual personas with whom the audience might connect. While one might link this to the protagonist-centered formula of the melodrama, it can also be read as a symptom of the TRC's *ubuntu* epistemology, which, through promoting synthesis can be seen to subject victims to an abstract discourse of reconciliation. Thus, it was found in this analysis that in examining films about the TRC, one cannot consider the cinematic text apart from the wider context of the Commission and the complex processes of nation building in post-apartheid South Africa.

9.4.3.*Yesterday*

In Chapter Eight, I provide an analysis of the film *Yesterday*, a locally-funded, low-budget feature film directed by Darrell James Roodt. Unlike the other two films analysed in this thesis, the filmmaker has applied an alternative structure to the narrative at hand in which restorative conventions have been blended with neorealist elements. There are a number of characteristics in the film that link it to these diverging narrative norms. For example, the film highlights the human impact of the tabooed HIV/AIDS epidemic. This focus on human suffering and disease might be read as an influence of neorealism, which favours socially conscious themes. The exclusive use of Zulu in the film can also be linked to neorealist works, which are often presented in the vernacular. Roodt's choice to focus on a single

character, Yesterday, however, can be linked to classical conventions. The mooted happy ending where the demise of the main character is not explored and the soon-to-be-orphaned daughter finds a happy home with the local teacher might also be read as a characteristic of the restorative structure, which favours upbeat endings. As mentioned in the analysis in Chapter Eight, however, this ending has some problematic implications and might be viewed as an insult to the millions of adults and children who have truly suffered at the hands of this virus.

In the film, Roodt attempts to challenge certain stereotypes pertaining to race and gender. Firstly, his choice to make a rural woman the protagonist of a heroic story is most progressive and arguably 'feminist' in nature. This approach is further apparent in the casting of a *female* doctor in another key role. The characterisation of this white South African doctor as a compassionate person who is fluent in Zulu can also be seen to directly contradict the negative stereotypes perpetuated in mainstream media. Roodt's choice to use a black protagonist is a further challenge to established racial hierarchies in the media. However, since the film is about poverty and disease, it can arguably be seen to feed existing Western stereotypes of the diseased and poor African continent. Moreover, with regards to black representation, there have been some problematic portrayals. This is particularly the case with the black traditional healer (the *sangoma*) who, in comparison to the compassionate white doctor, is shown to be weak and incompetent.

As in the case of *In My Country* discussed above, the filmmaker has tackled a very complex topic in this film, since the state's response to the HIV/AIDS epidemic in South Africa has been most controversial. Therefore, it is understandable that there has been certain controversy surrounding the depiction of the epidemic in the film. However, filmmakers (Roodt and producer, Singh) have defended such accusations by stating that while the film is designed to illuminate this important, under explored topic, it was not their intention to make a definitive representation of HIV/AIDS in South Africa. On the contrary, this is a fictional story that avoids messaging and aims to encourage the audience to reflect on societal atrocities and problems. The filmmakers' focus on entertainment rather than on truth and didacticism in *Yesterday* is significant and can be related to a general shift in African cinema away from politics and ideology towards entertainment, leisure and fantasy.

Roodt's freedom to experiment in this film – his application of alternative narrative elements, the avoidance of didacticism and his use of an indigenous language – might be linked to *Yesterday's* small, locally funded budget. In this way it differs from the other two case studies, which were less experimental, co-funded by foreign partners and targeted primarily at the export market. Nevertheless, this is not to say that *Yesterday* is a 'perfect' or 'pure' film which tells the 'truth' and is free from any outside influences, commercial objectives or export orientations. On the contrary, *Yesterday* is best viewed as a hybrid product and as an epidemiologically informed, yet personal interpretation of the human impact of the HIV/AIDS epidemic in a rural community of South Africa.

9.5. Future Work

This thesis covers a rather broad subject of study. However, although I believe that I have been thorough in my analysis of this topic, spatial limitations have resulted in there being a number of gaps that deserve further attention. For example, while this thesis has focused on the representation of national identity in realist films, it would also be most interesting to conduct a similar study on non-realist post-apartheid features. Case studies in this regard could be films which invoke fantastical imaginings of South Africa such as *District Nine* (Blomkamp, 2009), *Mr Bones I* (Hofmeyr, 2003) and Mr *Bones II: Back from the Past* (Hofmeyr, 2009). A further subject that would have enriched this thesis is the role of comedy in post-apartheid cinema. In fact, given the local popularity of this genre, this thesis might be criticised for its failure to consider comedy in the textual analysis. In truth, I originally aimed to include a chapter on the 'Leon Schuster Phenomenon', in which I would examine one of Schuster's films and attempt to understand his incredible success with local audiences. However, I found the subject to be too complex to explore in a single chapter. Furthermore, since it was my intention to look at transnational production dynamics, I decided to focus rather on films made for a local *and* international audience rather than films (such as comedies) that are targeted primarily at the local market.

An additional area of research that I would like to embark on in the future is the study of ultra-low budget filmmaking and dissemination, including the application of DVD and Internet technology, in post-apartheid South Africa (see references to Joziewood and

Vendawood discussed in Chapter Five). This trend has developed rapidly since I started this research project. In fact, it is in such a state of growth and flux that it would be quite a challenge to capture it in the finite form of the written word. Nevertheless, it appeals to me, because, unlike the formal sector of the film industry, the operators in this field are attempting to create a style of cinema that caters for the under-serviced black majority. However, like the study of non-realist genres in post-apartheid cinema and the analysis of the representational dynamics in local comedy, this remains an area for future inquiry.

9.6. Final Words

In this work, I have outlined how the post-apartheid film industry intersects with the political-economic agenda and socio-cultural history of the country. From the above writing, I think that it is clear that the conditions of cinema production, distribution and exhibition in South Africa are closely related to the wider national and transnational context and are often indexical of social, economic and cultural conditions (Tomaselli and Shepperson 2002: 76). Thus, the film industry, like post-apartheid society as a whole, is socially and economically fragmented. This fragmentation, particularly among audiences, is arguably one of the greatest challenges to the sustainability and growth of the industry. From the discussions and findings outlined above, it is evident that the neoliberal framework that has been adopted by the state has certain problematic implications for the sustainability and racial transformation of the film industry. Furthermore, the parallel national discourse of multiculturalism does not always sit comfortably with the freedom of expression and diversification that a democratic cinema demands. For instance, while state run institutions might preach a discourse of diversity and freedom, in practice, they tend to support a rather fixed, corrective paradigm of multiculturalism that steers away from experimentation and freedom in cinematic production. This tension between diversity and cohesion is an inherent contradiction in multicultural ideology, where the need to create unity does not always sit comfortably with diversity, multiplicity and cultural contradiction.

Perhaps a more transnational approach to cinematic production would be more appropriate, where filmmakers might escape the hegemony of the state and develop hybrid styles and identities in between the margins of established norms. However, this too has its

challenges, since rather than breaking new ground, filmmakers might find themselves reproducing images that mainstream audiences expect and perpetuating fixed, stereotypical representations of local identities on screen. Clearly there is not a single, simple solution to the challenge of national representation in the production of post-apartheid cinema. On the contrary, the way forward is most likely to be a dynamic, multifarious combination of approaches and methods, which would be a sound reflection of the compound, often-contradictory nature of life in the global, post-apartheid context.

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Boy Called Twist. 2004. dir. Tim Greene.

Brave One (The). 2007. dir. Neil Jordan.

Bunny Chow. 2007. dir. John Barker.

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Come Back Africa. 1959. dir. Lional Rogisin.

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Cry, *The Beloved Country*. 1995. dir. Darrell Roodt.

Dangerous Ground. 1997 dir. Darrell Roodt.

Dear Sunshine. 1992. dir. Zola Maseko.

Deliverance. 1972. dir. John Boorman.

District 9. 2009. dir. Niel Blomkamp.

Dracula 3000. 2003. dir. Darrell Roodt.

Drink in the Passage. 2002. dir. Zola Maseko.

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Faith's Corner. 2005. dir. Darrell Roodt.

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Finding Lenny. 2009. dir. Neal Sundstrom.

Flyer (The). 2005. dir. Revel Fox.

Fools. 1998. dir. Ramadan Suleman.

Foreigner (The). 1996. dir. Zola Maseko, 1996.

Forgiveness. 2004. dir. Ian Gabriel.

General (The). 1998. dir. John Boorman.

God is African. 2003. dir. Akin Omotoso.

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Having a Wild Weekend. 1965. dir. John Boorman.

Hijack Stories. 2000. dir. Oliver Schmitz.

Hond se Dinges. 2009. dir. Johan Heyns.

Hope and Glory. 1987. dir. John Boorman.

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Intonga. 2009. dir. Johannes Cronje.

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Mr TNT. 1985. dir. Darrell Roodt.

Mr. Bones 2: Back From the Past. 2008. dir. Gray Hofmeyr.

Nights in Rodanthe. 2008. dir. George Wolfe.

Not without my Daughter. 2004. dir. Zulfah Otto-Sailles.

Oh Schucks, I'm Gatvol. 2004. dir. Gray Hofmeyr.

Oupa, Pitso, Lenny and Me. 1994. dir. Zola Maseko.

Paljas. 1998. dir. Katinka Heyns.

Pavement. 2004. dir. Darrell Roodt.

Pictures of Hollis Woods. 2007. dir. Tony Bill.

Place of Weeping. 1986. dir. Darrell Roodt.

Point Blank. 1967. dir. John Boorman.

Prey. 2007. dir. Darrell Roodt.

Raiders of the Lost Arc. 1981. dir. Steven Spielberg.

Red Dust. 2005. dir. Tom Hooper.

Return of Sara Baartman (The). 2002. dir. Zola Maseko.

Salaam Bombay. 1988. dir. Mira Nair, 1988)

Sarafina! 1992. Darrell Roodt.

Saturday Night at the Palace. 1987. dir. Robert Davies.

Second Skin. 2000. dir. Darrell Roodt.

Shirley Adams. 2009. dir. Oliver Hermanus.

Silwa the Zulu. 1927. dir. Attilio Gatti.

Skin. 2008. Anthony Fabian.

SMS Sugarman. 2008. dir. Aryan Kaganof.

Soldiers of the Rock. 2005. dir. Norman Maake.

Star Wars Episode II: Attack of the Clones. 2002. dir. George Lucas.

Stick (The). 1987. dir. Darrell Roodt 1987.

Tailor of Panama (The). 2001. dir. John Boorman.

Tenth of a Second. 1987. dir. Darrell Roodt.

Tiger's Tale (The). 2006. dir. John Boorman.

To The Death. 1991. dir. Darrell Roodt.

Tornado and the Kalahari Horse Whisperer. 2009. dir. Regardt van den Bergh.

Tsotsi. 2005. dir. Gavid Hood.

Two Nudes Bathing. 1995. dir. John Boorman.

UCarmen eKhayelitsha, 2005. dir. Mark Dornford-May.

Vaatjie Sien sy Gat. 2008. dir. Willie Esterhuizen.

Where the Heart Is. 1990. dir. John Boorman.

White Wedding. 2009. dir. Jan Turner.

Wind Rider. 1985. dir. Darrell Roodt.

Wonderful Wizard of Oz. 2001. dir. John Boorman.

Wooden Camera (The). 2003. dir. Ntshaveni Wa Luruli.

Yesterday. 2004. dir. Darrell Roodt.

Zardoz. 1974. dir. John Boorman.

Zimbabwe. 2008. dir. Darrell Roodt.

Zulu Love Letter. 2004. dir. Ramadan Suleman.

APPENDIX A: DATABASE OF POST-APARTHEID FEATURE FILMS

No	Title	Year	Lang	Genre	Director	Prod. Co (max 3 listed)	Local Distribution	Box Office (local)	Prints	Local Attend-ance	Country	NFVF	Budget Cat.	Int. Co-prod
1	*Friends*	1994	ENG	Drama	Elaine Proctor	Friends Productions	Ster Kinekor (SK)	**46,376.00**	**14**	**N/A**	RSA, UK, FR	No	**N/A**	Yes (Unofficial)
2	*Kalahari Harry*	1994	ENG	Comedy	Dirk de Villiers	C Films (PTY) LTD	SK	**1,996,326.00**	**49**	**N/A**	RSA	No	**N/A**	No
3	*Lipstiek Dipstiek*	1994	AFR	Comedy	Willie Esterhuizen	Kinekor Outright (KO)	SK	**6,180,917.00**	**54**	**N/A**	RSA	No	**N/A**	No
4	*Cry the Beloved Country*	1995	ENG	Drama	Darrel Roodt	Alpine, Distant Horizons, Miramax, VV	Miramax	**420, 000.00**	**N/A**	**N/A**	RSA, US	No	**N/A**	Yes (Unofficial)
5	*Jock of the Bushveld*	1995	ENG	Adven.	Danie Joubert & Gray Hofmeyr	Duncan MacNeille Films & KO	SK	**870,350.00**	**49**	**N/A**	RSA	No	**N/A**	No
6	*Running Wild/Born Wild*	1995	ENG	Drama	Donavon McLachlen	KO	SK	**406,303.00**	**24**	**N/A**	RSA	No	**N/A**	No
7	*Soweto Green*	1995	ENG	Comedy	David Lister	KO, Toron Screen Corporation	SK	**732,838.00**	**44**	**N/A**	RSA	No	**N/A**	No
8	*Ghandi-The Making of the Mahatma*	1996	ENG	Drama	Shyam Bengel	SABC Outside, 3DD Entertainment	Prime Time Television	**105,474.00**	**2**	**N/A**	RSA, INDIA	No	**N/A**	Yes (Unofficial)
9	*Panic Mechanic*	1996	ENG	Comedy	David Lister	Toron	SK	**16,256,818.00**	**82**	**1,320,404**	RSA	No	**N/A**	No
10	*Jump the Gun*	1997	ENG	Comedy	Les Blair	Xencat Pictures/Parallax Pictures	films2peop-e / U.I.P	**331,256.00**	**19**	**32,642**	RSA/ UK	No	**N/A**	Yes (Unofficial)

11	*Kaalgat Tussen die Daisies*	1997	AFR	Comedy	Koos Roets	C Films (PTY) LTD	SK	**2,193,601.00**	**57**	**N/A**	RSA	No	**N/A**	No
12	*Fools*	1998	ENG	Drama	Ramadan Suleman	JBA Films	SK	**58,699.00**	**3**	**N/A**	RSA/ FR	No	**N/A**	Yes (Unofficial)
13	*Reasonable Man*	1998	ENG	Crime	Gavin Hood	African Media Ent. LTD	SK	**286,489.00**	**11**	**17,161**	RSA/ FR	No	**N/A**	Yes (Unofficial)
14	*Inside Out*	1998	ENG	Drama	Neal Sundstrom	African Media Ent. LTD	SK	**596,897.00**	**26**	**N/A**	RSA	No	**N/A**	No
15	*Paljas*	1998	AFR	Drama	Katinka Heyns	Sonneblom Films	SK	**2,483,661.00**	**41**	**N/A**	RSA	No	**N/A**	No
16	*Sexy Girls*	1998	ENG	Drama	Russell Thompson	Aurora Films, Mnet New Directions	SK	**123,748.00**	**5**	**N/A**	RSA	No	**N/A**	No
17	*Chikin Bizniz - The Whole Story*	1999	ENG	Comedy	Ntshaveni wa Luruli	Aurora Films	SK	**15,092.00**	**4**	**1,533**	RSA	No	**N/A**	No
18	*Heel Against the Head*	1999	ENG	Comedy	Rod Stewart	Nu Metro (NM)	NM	**3,473,941.00**	**70**	**157,906**	RSA	No	**N/A**	No
19	*The Millenium Menace*	1999	ENG	Comedy	Leon Schuster	NM	NM	**8,492,753.00**	**70**	**513,778**	RSA	No	**N/A**	No
20	*Boesman And Lena*	2001	ENG /AFR	Drama	John Berry	Pathé Image Productions	SK	**8,805.00**	**2**	**428**	RSA, FR	No	**4**	Yes (Unofficial)
21	*Mr Bones*	2001	ENG	Comedy	Gray Hofmeyr	Ster-Kinekor (SK)	U.I.P	**33,048,632.00**	**87**	**1,864,971**	RSA	No	**5**	No
22	*The Long Run*	2001	ENG	Drama	Jean Stewart	Baer Production CO.	U.I.P	**110,119.00**	**16**	**9,964**	RSA	No	**N/A**	No
23	*Lumumba*	2002	ENG	Drama	Raoul Peck	Arte (Foreign)	SK	**348,432.00**	**2**	**16,398**	RSA, FR, BEL, HAITI GER	No	**5**	Yes (unofficial)

24	*God is African*	2003	ENG	Drama	Akin Omotoso	TransAfrica Film and Television	NM	**117,580.00**	**4**	**6140**	RSA	No	**1**	No
25	*Hijack Stories*	2003	ENG	Crime	Oliver Schmitz	UGC, Xenos Pictures, Primedia	SK	**172,019.00**	**5**	**11,737**	RSA, GER, FR, UK	No	**N/A**	Yes (Unofficial)
26	*Malunde*	2003	ENG	Drama	Stephanie Sycholt	Promark PTY LTD	SK	**88,586.00**	**10**	**5,351**	RSA, GER	No	**N/A**	Yes (Official)
27	*Stander*	2003	ENG /AFR	Drama	Bronwyn Hughes	NM	NM	**1,983,875.00**	**50**	**81,312**	RSA, UK, GER, CAN	No	**6**	Yes (Official)
28	*Wooden Camera*	2003	ENG	Adven.	Ntshaveni wa Luruli	Odelion, Richard Greene and Associates	FRU limited independent release	**N/A**	**N/A**	**N/A**	RSA, UK, FR	Yes	**N/A**	Yes (Unofficial)
29	*34 South*	2004	ENG	Comedy	Maganthrie Pillay	Hybrid Films	limited independent release	**N/A**	**N/A**	**N/A**	RSA	Yes	**N/A**	No
30	*Drum*	2004	ENG	Thriller	Zola Maseko	Nu Metro	NM	**917.368.00**	**27**	**66,993**	RSA, US	Yes	**5**	Yes (Unofficial)
31	*Forgiveness*	2004	ENG /AFR	Drama	Ian Gabriel	DV8, Giant	SK, Fortissimo	**334,144.00**	**7**	**14,211**	RSA	Yes	**3**	No
32	*Hotel Rwanda*	2004	ENG	Drama	Terry George	The Imaginarioum	SK	**N/A**	**N/A**	**N/A**	RSA, UK, ITAL	Yes	**6**	Yes (Official)
33	*Oh Schuks I'm Gatvol*	2004	ENG	Comedy	Leon Schuster	Schus Productions	SK	**23,484,587.00**	**106**	**1,048,025**	RSA	No	**5**	No
34	*Story Of An African Farm*	2004	ENG	Drama	David Lister	Rogue Star Films	SK	**601,441.00**	**20**	**27,942**	RSA	No	**N/A**	No
35	*Yesterday*	2004	ZUL	Drama	Darrel Roodt	VideoVision (VV)	UIP	**1,564,382.00**	**24**	**90,598**	RSA	Yes	**3**	No
36	*Boy Called Twist*	2005	ENG	Drama	Tim Greene	Twisted Pictures, Monkey	SK	**150,632.00**	**5**	**6,330**	RSA	Yes	**2**	No

						Films								
37	*Crazy Monkey Straight Outta Benoni*	2005	ENG	Comedy	Trevor Clarence	Crazy Monkey Partnership	SK	**2,852,660.00**	**45**	**185,490**	RSA	No	**3**	No
38	*Faith's Corner*	2005	ZUL	Drama	Darrel Roodt	VV	VV	**10,027.00**	**1**	**456**	RSA	No	**2**	No
39	*In My Country/ Country of My Skull*	2005	ENG /AFR	Drama	John Boorman	Chartoff, Productions, Film Afrika Worldwide & Film Consortium	SK	**155,840.00**	**7**	**N/A**	RSA, UK, IRELAND	No	**6**	Yes (Unofficial)
40	*Mama Jack*	2005	ENG	Comedy	Gray Hofmeyr	VV	U.I.P	**27,245,568.00**	**103**	**1,523,079**	RSA	No	**5**	No
41	*Max And Mona*	2005	ENG	Comedy	Teddy Mattera	DV8	SK	**319,712.00**	**32**	**24,747**	RSA	Yes	**3**	No
42	*Red Dust*	2005	ENG	Drama	Tom Hooper	VV	U.I.P	**309,738.00**	**15**	**15,604**	RSA, UK	No	**5**	Yes (Unofficial)
43	*Soldiers Of The Rock*	2005	ENG	Drama	Norman Maake	AFDA	SK	**33,387.00**	**4**	**3,047**	RSA	No	**2**	No
44	*The Flyer*	2005	ENG	Drama	Revel Fox	IMG Productions	SK	**404,105.00**	**35**	**26,696**	RSA	No	**3**	No
45	*u-Carmen eKhayelitsha*	2005	XHO	Musical Drama	Mark Dornford May	Spier Productions, Rogue Star Films	SK, Fort.	**294,035.00**	**7**	**13,143**	RSA	Yes	**4**	No
46	*Zulu Love Letter*	2005	ENG /ZUL	Drama	Ramadan Suleman	Natives at Large	SK	**140,062.00**	**7**	**10,762**	RSA, FR, GER	Yes	**4**	Yes (Unofficial)
47	*Beat The Drum*	2006	ENG /ZUL	Drama	David Hickson	Kiminel International	NM	**282,989.00**	**21**	**18,490**	RSA, US	No	**4**	Yes (Unofficial)
48	*Catch A Fire*	2006	ENG	Drama	Phillip Noyce	Moonlighting Films	U.I.P	**N/A**	**N/A**	**N/A**	RSA, US,UK, FR	No	**6**	Yes (Unofficial)

49	*Conversations On A Sunday Afternoon*	2006	ENG	Drama	Khalo Matabane	Matabane Filmworks	SK	**12,616.00**	**2**	**450**	RSA	Yes	**N/A**	No
50	*Faith Like Potatoes*	2006	ENG /ZUL	Drama /Christian	Regardt van den Bergh	Global Creative	Global Creative	**3,580,335.00**	**15**	**194,039**	RSA	No	**4**	No
51	*Tsotsi*	2006	ZUL/ XHO /SOTH	Crime	Gavin Hood	Moviworld (PTY) LTD	SK	**8,152,866.00**	**21**	**439,282**	RSA, UK	Yes	**5**	Yes (Unofficial)
52	*I Wish I Was in Jail*	2006	ENG	Comedy	Dingi Ntuli/Percy Langa	Digital African	Sithole Moviworld	**224,042.00**	**1**	**N/A**	RSA	No	**N/A**	No
53	*Number 10*	2006	ENG	Drama	Darrel Roodt	Sage Wise Goldstudios	SK	**468,225.00**	**40**	**26,551**	RSA	No	**5**	No
54	*Running Riot*	2006	ENG	Comedy	Koos Roets	Ster Kinekor Pictures	SK	**1,755,603.00**	**83**	**91,974**	RSA	No	**3**	No
55	*Son of Man*	2006	ENG /XHO	Drama	Mark Dornford May	Spier Films	SK	**46,537.00**	**9**	**N/A**	RSA	No	**N/A**	No
56	*Sarafina (Re-release)*	2006	ENG	Drama	Darrel Roodt	N/A	UIP	**386,007.00**	**41**	**24,806**	RSA	No	**N/A**	No
57	*Wah-Wah*	2006	ENG	Drama	Richard E Grant	Reeleys films	SK	**515,489.00**	**6**	**N/A**	RSA, UK, FR	No	**5**	Yes (Official)
58	*Big Fellas*	2007	ENG	Comedy	Phillip Roberts	Rogue Star Films, Riempie Productions	NM, Thirteen (US)	**491,628.95**	**21**	**22,863**	RSA	No	**2**	No
59	*Bunny Chow*	2007	ENG	Comedy	John Barker	DV8	SK	**368,589.00**	**16**	**20,197**	RSA	No	**3**	No
60	*Footskating 101*	2007	ENG	Adven.	Ferraira, Jack	U.I.P	U.I.P	**218,638.00**	**55**	**11,330**	RSA	No	**1**	No
61	*More Than Just A Game*	2007	ENG	Drama	Junaid Ahmed	VideoVision Entertainment & Distant Horizon	U.I.P	**98,998.00**	**N/A**	**N/A**	RSA	Yes	**4**	No

62	*Oil On Water*	2007	ENG	Drama	Peter Matthews	Tidal Waves Productions	Motion Picture Worx	**N/A**	**N/A**	**N/A**	RSA	No	**3**	No
63	*Ouma Se Slim Kind*	2007	AFR	Drama	Gustav Kuhn	Southern Sky Productions	SK	**318,363.00**	**23**	**13,982**	RSA	No	**3**	No
64	*Poena Is Koning*	2007	AFR	Comedy	Willie Esterhuizen	Aardbol Films	SK	**2,447,025.00**	**48**	**120,801**	RSA	No	**2**	No
65	*Bakgat*	2008	AFR	Comedy	Henk Pretorious	The Film Factory	SK	**3,300,000.00**	**41**	**N/A**	RSA	No	**2**	No
66	*Discreet*	2008	ENG	Drama	Joshua Rous	Black Brain Pictures & Scramble Productions	SK	**157,284.00**	**8**	**N/A**	RSA	No	**N/A**	No
67	*Confessions Of A Gambler*	2008	ENG /AFR	Drama	Amanda Lane	Rogue Star Films	Other	**540,000.00**	**16**	**N/A**	RSA	Yes	**2**	No
68	*Hansie*	2008	ENG	Drama/ Christian	Regardt van den Bergh	Global Creative Studios	NM	**3,996,684.00**	**88**	**N/A**	N/A	No	**6**	Yes (Unofficial)
69	*Jerusalema*	2008	ENG /ZUL /TSO	Crime	Ralph Ziman	Muti Films	UIP	**4,133,134.00**	**14**	**N/A**	RSA, US	No	**4**	Yes (Unofficial)
70	*Mr Bones 2: Back From The Past*	2008	ENG	Comedy	Gray Hofmeyr	VV	U.I.P	**34,021,962.00**	**110**	**N/A**	RSA	No	**5**	No
71	*Vaatjie Sien Sy Gat*	2008	AFR	Comedy	Willie Esterhuizen	Aardbol Films	SK	**N/A**	**34**	**N/A**	RSA	No	**2**	No
72	*Triomf*	2009	ENG /AFR	Drama	Michael Raeburn	Focus Films, Dv8 GH Films …	limited Nu Metro and indepen. release	**N/A**	**N/A**	**N/A**	RSA, FR, UK	No	**3**	Yes (Unofficial)

73	*Disgrace*	2009	ENG /XH O/Z UL/ AFR	Drama	Steve Jacobs	Fortissimo Films, Sherman Films	SK	**N/A**	**N/A**	**N/A**	RSA, OZ	No	**6**	Yes (Unoff icial)
74	*Hitchhiker*	2009	ENG	Comedy	Chris du Toit	South Africa Wild Productions	SK	**N/A**	**N/A**	**N/A**	RSA	No	**N/A**	No
75	*Hond Se Dinges*	2009	AFR	Comedy	Johan Heyn	Fevertree Productions	SK	**N/A**	**N/A**	**N/A**	RSA	No	**N/A**	No
76	*Izulu Lami/My Secret Sky*	2009	ZUL	Drama	Madoda Ncayiyana	DV8 &Vuleka Productions	SK	**N/A**	**N/A**	**N/A**	RSA, FR	Yes	**3**	No
77	*The World Unseen*	2009	ENG	Drama	Shamim Sarif	DO Productions & Enlightenmen t Productions	SK	**N/A**	**N/A**	**N/A**	RSA, UK	No	**N/A**	No
78	*Tornado the Kalahari Hose Whisperer*	2009	ENG	Drama/ Christia n	Regardt van den Bergh	Everland Aquavision, Humble Pie Entertainment	SK and Humble Pie Ent.	**N/A**	**N/A**	**N/A**	RSA	No	**N/A**	No
79	*White Wedding*	2009	ENG /ZUL	Comedy	Jann Turner	Stepping Stone Pictures	SK	**N/A**	**N/A**	**N/A**	RSA, UK	No	**3**	Yes (Unoff icial)
80	*District 9*	2009	ENG	Sci-Fi	Neill Blomkamp	WingNut Films	TriStar Pictures	**N/A**	**N/A**	**N/A**	RSA, NZ, CAN	No	**6**	Yes (Unoff icial)
81	*Finding Lenny*	2009	ENG	Comedy	Neal Sundstrom	Moviworld (PTY) LTD	NM	**N/A**	**43**	**N/A**	N/A	No	**N/A**	Yes (Unoff icial)
82	*Faith Happens*	2009	ENG	Drama/ Christia n	Rick Garside	Side by Side Films	Humble Pie Ent.	**N/A**	**N/A**	**N/A**	RSA	No	**N/A**	No
83	*Intonga*	2009	XHO	Drama	Johan Van Rensburg		Nu Metro	**N/A**	**N/A**	**N/A**	RSA	No	**3**	No

APPENDIX B: INTERVIEWEE PROFILES AND SCHEDULE

Name	Role in Industry	Interview date	Location	No. of Questions	No. of words	Post-apartheid Features Contributed to
GROUP 1						
De Lanerolle, Indra	**Producer,** Member of Independent Producer Organisation (IPO) Executive Committee	27.02.08	Telephone	11	4473	Portrait of a Young Man Drowning' (exec. prod., 1999) and The Man Who Drove with Mandela (exec. prod., 1999)
Desai, Rehad	**Producer/director,** CEO Uhuru Films.	29.01.08	Johannesburg	5	5271	Born into Struggle (2004, feature-length documentary)
Frederikse, Julie	**Producer,** Co-director of Vuleka Films.	31.03.08	Durban	8	4578	My Secret Sky (2008)
Gabriel, Ian	**Director,** Founder of Giant Films.	19.09.07	Cape Town	12	3670	Forgiveness (2004)
Garland, Ross	**Producer,** Founder Roguestar Films	19.03.08	Cape Town	9	9429	Confessions of a Gambler (2008), Big Fellas (2007), Ucarmen eKhayelitsha (2005) and Story of an African Farm (2004)
Greene, Tim	**Director**	11.10.07	Johannesburg	6	1634	Boy Called Twist (2003/4)
Hickson, David	**Director**	01.02.08	Johannesburg	18	9355	Beat the Drum (2003)
Jammy, David	**Producer,** Managing director Curious Pictures. IPO member.	20.02.08	Telephone	10	3273	Heartlines (2007)
Jawitz, Dan	**Producer,** Founder of Vox Pix Member of The Producers Alliance.	18.02.08	Telephone	12	2453	One Last Look (in production, 2009)
Kempen, Diony	**Producer/writer**, Welela Studios	29.01.08	Johannesburg	12	5311	Meisie (prod., 2007) and Max and Mona (co-prod., 2004)
Latter, Greg	**Screenwriter, actor**	16.03.08	Knysna	13	3468	Goodbye Bafana (writer, 2007), Max and Mona (writer, 2004), Forgiveness (writer, 2004), Red Dust (actor, 2004), In My Country (actor, 2004), Mr. Bones (writer, 2001) and Cry The Beloved Country (actor, 1995).
Maseko, Zola	**Director, writer**	12.02.08	Telephone	13	3348	Drum (director, writer, 2004)
Matabane, Khalo	**Director, producer, writer**	19.01.08	Cape Town	14	4700	Conversations on a Sunday Afternoon (director, prod., writer, 2005), Story of a Beautiful Country (director, prod., writer)

Meeran, Jean	**Director, writer**	07.04.09	Telephone	6	2751	The Djinn (2003, co-writer and director), Gazelle 911 (in production)
Mattera, Teddy	**Director, writer**	01.02.08	Johannesburg	15	5162	Max and Mona (writer, director, 2004)
Nathan, Jeremy	**Producer,** Co-founder DV8 Films	15.02.08	Telephone	13	3038	My Secret Sky (prod., 2008), Bunny Chow (exec. prod., '06), Crazy Monkey Presents Straight Outta Benoni (exec. prod., 2005), Wah-Wah (exec. prod., 2005), The Flyer (prod., 2005), Max and Mona (exec. prod., 2004), Forgiveness (exec. prod., 2004) Boesman and Lena (co-prod., '00), Lucky Day (exec., 2000), Portrait of a Young Man Drowning (1999), The Quarry (1999) and Jump the Gun (1997).
Otto-Sallies, Zulfah	**Director, writer**	12.03.08	Cape Town	11	7356	Raya (director, writer, 2001)
Raleigh, Paul	**Producer**	10.10.07	Johannesburg	12	2717	Ghost Son (prod., 2006), Tsotsi (co-prod., 2005), Dead Easy (prod, 2004), Stander (line-prod., 2003), Mr Bones (line-prod., 2001), From Dusk till Dawn 3 (co-prod., 2000) and A Reasonable Man (prod., 1999)
Roodt, Darrell	**Director, writer**	13.02.08	Telephone	15	2958	Zimbabwe (writer, director, 2008), Lullaby (director, 2008), Meisie (writer, director, 2007), Prey (writer, director, 2007), Cryptid (director, 2006), Number Ten (director, '06), Faith's Corner (writer, director, 2005), Yesterday (writer, director, 2004), Summur (director, 2003), Pavement (director, 2003), Witness to All (director, 2001), Dangerous Ground (director, writer, producer, 1997) and Cry the Beloved Country (director, 2007).
Schuster, Leon	**Actor, writer**	04.02.08	Johannesburg	9	7863	Mr Bones: Back from the Past (actor, co-writer, 2008), Mama Jack (actor, co-writer, 2005), Oh Schcks… I'm Gatvol! (actor, co-writer 2004), Mr Bones (writer, actor, 2001) and Panic Mechanic (co-writer, actor, 1997).

Spring, Helena	**Producer**	31.01.08	Johannesburg	13	4253	Mr Bones: back from the past, (prod., 2008), More tha Just a Game (prod., 2007), Prey (prod., 2007), Faith's Corner (prod., 2005), Dollars and White Pipes (prod., 2005), Mama Jack (prod., 2005), Yesterday (prod., 2005), Mr Bones (prod., 2001), Bravo to Zero (co-prod., 1999), The Theory of Flight (prod., 1999), Dangerous Ground (assoc. prod., '97) and Cry the Beloved Country (assoc. prod., '95)
Suleman, Ramadan	**Director, writer**	28.02.08	Telephone	10	3219	Zulu Love Letter (2004) and Fools (1997)
Thorpe, Robbie	**Producer, director**	19.02.08	Telephone	14	3698	Boy Called Twist (assoc. prod., 2004) and Gums and Noses (prod., 2004)
GROUP 2						
Hairdarian, Ryan	**National Film and Video Foundation** (NFVF), Head of Development and Production	09.10.07	Johannesburg	4	4912	Not Applicable (N/A)
Khumalo, Terence	**NFVF,** International Co-production Analyst	09.10.07	Johannesburg	8	3226	N/A
Mbalo, Eddie	**NFVF,** Chief Executive Officer	09.10.07	Johannesburg	4	4912	N/A
Silinda, Moses	**Division, Industrial Development Corporation (IDC),** Head of Media and Motion Pictures	**?** 02.08	Johannesburg	13	3938	N/A
Nzimande, Julia	**Department of Trade and Industry**	28.01.08	Pretoria	14	5312	N/A
GROUP 3						
Britow, Deva	**ETV,** Head of Internaitonal Aquistitions	30.04.09	Email	11	711	N/A
Fischer, Carl	**Mnet,** Head of Local Productions	09.10.07	Johannesburg	7	2138	N/A
Kraus, Ludi	**Labia Independent Theatre,** Co-director	27.02.08	Cape Town	4	1861	N/A
Kuun, Helen	**Ster Kinekor Distribution,** Marketing and Acquisition Manager	08.10.07	Johannesburg	6	4427	N/A
Mampane, Charlotte	**South African Broadcasting Association** (SABC), Head of Regions, radio and Television and 2008 **NFVF** Chairperson	08.10.07	Johannesburg	7	2087	N/A

Mnet	**Mnet,** Head of Sales and Acquisitions, **Mnet,** Head o African Film Library, and former Head of The **Film Resource Unit (FRU)**	28.01.08	Johannesburg	10	6365	N/A
Mthembu, Desmond	**FRU,** Former Head and currently self employed in alternative distribution	30.01.08	Johannesburg	6	2701	N/A
Nu Metro	**Nu Metro Distribution and Exhibition** General director	11.10.07	Johannesburg	5	2243	N/A
GROUP 4						
Dulart, Gerda	**South African School of Motion Picture, Media and Live Performance (AFDA):** Principal	23.04.08	Cape Town	4	3075	N/A
Kalil, Matthew	**UCT,** Lecturer in screen writing, former **AFDA** lecturer, director, co-founder of Amarabella Township Film festival Initiative (2005)	12.03.08	Cape Town	7	3274	N/A
GROUP 5						
Mitchell, Lawrence	**Cape Film Commission,** Commissioner,	26.03.08	Cape Town	9	3902	N/A
Monty, Toni	**Durban Film Office,** Head	01.04.08	Durban	8	6934	N/A
GROUP 6						
Sapieka, Joy	**Independent Film Publicist**	22.01.08	Cape Town	5	2803	N/A
Lee, Moonyeen	**Casting Director,** and founder of Moonnyeen Lee Associates	04.02.08	Johannesburg	12	4436	No. 1 Ladies Detective Agency (2008), Triomf (2008), Tsotsi (2005), Max and Mona (2004), Hotel Rwanda (2004), In My Country (2004), Wooden Camera (2005), Promised Land (2002), Reasonable Man (1999), The Quarry (1999) and Jump the Gun ('97).
Louw, Peet	**Marketing and Alternative Distribution Co-ordinator,** co-founder of Humble-Pie Entertainment, former Global Creatives Studios.	18.01.08	Cape Town	8	5288	Faith Like Potatoes (2006)
Average number of words in transcript					4151.697674	

APPENDIX C: EXAMPLE OF INTERVIEW TRANSCRIPT (1)

Interviewee: Darrell James Roodt
Location: Telephone
Date: 13.02.08

Astrid: Can you give me a bit of background information on when you started making films? (Based on Question 1)

Darrel: That's too long ago to remember now. Way back ago in the 1960's I started making films in my mind. My mother used to take me to the movies all the time and I loved it so much so I guess I've always wanted to make films and I find that about most filmmakers, the ones that break out. Look there are some, the lucky ones who go to St Stithians and they're the head boys and they don't really know much about making films and they win Oscars, those kind, but most filmmakers, it's really a passion and a calling. If you want to make films in your own country you're going to struggle. It's not a career for the faint hearted.

A: Which post-apartheid films have you made? (Designed to get more information related to Question 1)

D: I made a couple of thrillers for HBO, but those are American films! I guess films like *Yesterday* and *Faith's Corner* and *Meisie* and so on. A few, not enough!

A: And what is the inspiration behind your films? (Based on Question 9)

D: I am provoked by social issues you know, when I read things in the newspaper or when I see things in the news, or I just drive around and see the ladies begging at the street corner, it's stimulating, it makes you think and hence I make movies from strange subjects.

A: And would you say that there's a central message behind the film *Yesterday*? (Designed to get more information for Question 9)

D: Not really because that old saying about not being in the business to send messages, that's Western Union's job, it does apply. You never set out to make a message movie, I guess what I was trying to do there, I'm not sure, filmmakers are always vague about what their intentions are at the best of times, but I really just wanted people to watch the movie and have a sense of even if you're got nothing, you can still rise above these terrible things that challenge us, not just AIDS, but poverty and … Whatever it is that you can rise above it if you've got a strong heart!

A: I suppose it's similar to *Faith's Corner* and *Meisie*? (comment)

D: Well it's about that kind of thing; I am really fascinated by people with nothing. Myself included and everybody else I bump into, 'how's your life, oh it's terrible, I can't do this, I can't do that, I can't go overseas and I can't buy a new car…Whatever!' Try live in a hut in rural Zululand or try living on the street corner; there you've got some issues to deal with. It's about mirroring our lives and opening up the eyes of the people that watch the films …hopefully, and the nicest thing about making films is that occasionally you do meet people who the film touched them. What I saw in the field when I faced the camera, that person is perceived in a very, very similar way and that's amazing.

A: I've noticed that most films have female roles, the lead character. Is there a reason behind that? (Specific question designed for this interview)

D: Again, that's a strange thing. I'm busy writing two stories and both of them have leading girl characters and I think well that's a bit odd because I get accused in SA at the best of times, how do I make films about black people, but now how do I make films about black women? It's twice the burden you know. It is unusual, but I can't explain that.

A: I just thought it was interesting because it indicates that you identify with them … (comment)

D: Ja, well no one else does and it's peculiar, they always want to have a male as their lead, in every film you see and it's quite shocking, what about the other half of the world? Particularly in a country like SA.

A: I'm going to look mainly at *Yesterday* I wanted to ask how *Yesterday* was funded. (Based on Question 3)

D: Well M-NET was the first piece of the puzzle, they had that initiative which was a great initiative which has since fallen through which is a real shame. They were going to give ten films R1.5 million each and then it was up to those films to go and raise the rest of the money and make whatever budget they wanted to. And not many of those films made it, I think only six were made. But, that was the crucial chunk that unlocked the rest of the money… and that skillfully involves the Nelson Mandela Foundation and then one thing led to another and so it was unusual funding, it wasn't regular funding.

A: And how are your films usually funded? (Based on Question 3)

D: It's all kind of like that, all pieced together. And that's the difficult part is trying to get the parts to come together, that's the difficult bit. You know, I've been lucky because I've been working with Anant Singh a lot and we go back many a year so I come with him, not always, I come to him with a film, like *Faith's Corner* and he says 'I'll make this, but I'll only make it for a price,' so he gave me like a R1 million or whatever it was and I have to go off an make it for a million. But we did it!

A: Do you normally receive NFVF funding? (Based on Question 10)

They have been involved in various things that I've done, but not upfront per say. I find it difficult dealing with them because yes, they are fully entitled to be creative, but, I think that they wield that power too much, they try and … um… like for example *Faith's Corner* where we tried to get money from them up front. They said 'change the ending and yes, we'll give you money.' Excuse me? It doesn't make much sense to me. I think that I'll

make the movie. You fund it! Someone like myself I'm an established film director, it's not like I'm some guy off the street saying can I make this movie. And you'd think they'd encourage people like myself, even though I'm white and middle aged, tough shit, I'm still a filmmaker. Filmmakers are colourless and they should be. I understand about empowerment and all that and it's wonderful, but at the same time, if someone gets an Oscar nomination for like *Yesterday* I would be calling that guy and saying cool, you've put South Africa on the map, what do you want to do next? It's odd; I didn't get that, nothing. Not even a well done from the NFVF. I don't' mind, but it's just another challenge or another obstacle to overcome. And all filmmakers are like that, if you want to make your film you're going to make it and it's difficult, there are a million obstacles in the way and if you can get over them, then well done.

A: Have you heard of Sediba? (Question 33)

D: Yes, but I'm suspicious of all these things so I guess that's why they're not interested in funding me anyway. I think it's all a cultural mafia, propaganda, where they kind of shape and determine the stories you tell. I try and remain away from that as much as I can. You know, like at a script level, they do choose a certain kind of a script and then … I find it very dubious. And until they let go we won't have a thriving film industry at all because it will all be dogma.

A: And have you heard about the three-act film structure because they're teaching that in Sediba? (Based on Question 25)

A: Well that's the most ridiculous thing I've ever heard and that is also deeply annoying. Yes, you can draw conclusions from any film you see, you say there's the turning point, there's the … there's the third act and blah di blah. Last night I watched a movie by Quinton Tarantino, three act structure, not! These are rules they're trying to impose on people and restrict them and that three act structure is also classically an American model and I'm sorry, it doesn't' always apply. You try and apply the three-act structure to any great West African film, you won't find it.

A: Are you normally able to cover the cost of your productions? (Question 4)

D: Up until now by hook or by crook, ja, I'm not sure where Anant stands with *Faith's Corner* because he was unable to move that as much as we thought he'd be able to, but I think we might have been able to have gotten back the money somehow.

A: Do you think that the funding a film receives has an impact on the final product? (Question 26)

D: Yes, I do. I think if you want to get NFVF funding, your film has to be a certain kind of story, you have to be a certain kind of filmmaker etc. etc etc and that will shape and determine the final product.

A: And what are your views on international co-productions. (Question 27)

I think that's all fine, I think Gavin Hood did remarkably well in getting a lot of money to go make *Tsotsi* without that money it would never have gotten the slick Hollywood-style that it did. That's a strange fact about that film: Technically it wasn't a South African film, that was a British film. It won Best British Film at the Edinburgh Film Festival!! It was all British money. It's a fine line that, what is South African, what is whatever. But again perhaps there was too much international money in that particular film. I think it would have been a much more profound film if it had been a low budget film that came from the heart as opposed to a design film, a three act structure from Hollywood. That's another side of filmmaking and that's great, that's how he constructed it and that's what he aimed at and his aim was straight and true and he got it and that's brilliant. That worked for him.

A: So with your films, how do you normally organise the casting and the crew? Do you normally go for South Africans? (Question 5)

D: I prefer to at the moment, but again sometimes you get caught between the devil and a hard place and if you want to get your movie made you sometimes have to compromise and just say ... It was always strange for me because back in the day when I made films like

Sarafina or … I got heavily criticized from using people like James Earl Jones and Whoopi Goldberg, but as soon as the emerging filmmakers got to use their movies like *Drum* or … bless Zola for making his own film, but he quickly used Jason Flemyng to play the editor. He wasn't ashamed to do that. But I don't' mind if Americans play South Africans or vice versa, who cares? So as long as it's a good movie.

A: How are your films normally distributed? Do they receive wide distribution? (Based on Question 7)

D: No, I mean it's tricky. We go through the normal channels. A film like Yesterday was fortunate enough to be picked up by HBO in the world, and that got shown in a lot of places where it might not have otherwise. Otherwise it's the usual old Ster-Kinekor and DVD and blah di blah. But that's fine, the films get screened, every now and then I turn on the TV and 'Faith's Corner' or whatever is being shown.

A: I loved that film and I loved *Meisie*. I watched it at Victoria West. (Comment)

D: Ja, it's such an interesting film because it's not trying to be anything other than what it is, but it's quite a deep film you can watch it quite a few times, it's got a resonance.

A: What do you think can be done to improve the local consumption of local films? (Question 32)

D: That is again the hardest thing of all because they're traditionally suspicious of South African films with good reason. We're more familiar with American style movies. So when you come along with a film like 'Yesterday' or 'Faith's Corner' which goes against that grain you haven't got a chance of winning. Even a film like *Tsotsi*, which is incredibly well crafted, it still doesn't go into big numbers like the Leon Shuster's films. And Leon Shuster's is successful because comedians are always successful in their own countries because everyone loves a good laugh and with good reason because who wants to go and watch people dying of AIDS. You've have got a sensitive audience that will go see that, but with a film like that I wasn't trying to make a niche film, I was trying to make it bigger,

inspirational, that people across the board can see and still get something out of it and if some 50 year old man is forced to watch that is pleasantly surprised that he enjoyed the film then that's a minor achievement.

A: So you don't think there's a particular formula that makes a film sell? (Based on Question 30)

D: Yes, I mean there are of course, but not really because if there was well then let's go bottle that and sell it, you never know, you roll the dice. I think you know, for example, a film like *Yesterday* I knew it had a certain kind of broader appeal and I knew - well not that we would get an Oscar nomination, per se - but that it had that potential.

A: Do you think the dominance of Hollywood products on our screen has an impact on audience development? (Question 28)

D: Of course, because people want to go there and watch the three-act structure and the good music and the loud stereo and the big explosions, and that's what Gavin did so skillfully. He had a huge budget in relation to the small story, but he dressed it up in expensive clothes and it traveled and that's the way it goes. It'll be interesting to see how Jerusalema does. That's a film that's coming out now. It's showing in Berlin, but was made in Hillbrow, a big budget film, lots of car chasing, lots of shooting and killing and … ja, people will love it.

A: And how do you think that national identity is represented? Do you think there are any trends in cinema? (Question 23)

D: You know, that hasn't really emerged yet, we don't have a big enough body of work to draw any conclusions, but if *Tsotsi* is our crown jewel then we're in trouble - because that's just, in my opinion, a bland gangster with a heart of gold story. I don't think that's interesting at all. It doesn't really explore the social issues from which the story arises, those are just avoided in favour of some cool music and Zola dressed up in a pink suit

talking about dignity amongst gangsters. Nonsense! That's a fake Hollywood version of South Africa that does not exist.

A: Do you think there are any skills shortages in the country? (Question 29)

D: No, the technicians are top rate, I mean writers are a problem, but that's for a very specific reason because writers are traditionally in this country, undervalued. So in other words, they don't want to pay you anything for your screen play so they'll give you R25 or R50 000 or whatever, but it takes at least three to six months to write a really great movie. And that's a lot of money. That takes a good R200 000 to develop a screenplay. And very few people are going to give someone R200 000 to write a screenplay so people are doing it at night. And then also when they're writing they are thinking they need to sell this for a lot of money so they need to put in another car chase or whatever. And then they stuff up their own movies. I think it's more like Jeremy Nathan who's trying to set up an initiative where he's trying to set up an initiative where he gets a bunch of money from the government, R60 mil say and he can come to you and say here's R300 000, the idea you have is wonderful, go away for 6 months, explore it and come back with a great screenplay. Hey, I'll write a screenplay for R300 000, that's good. And you'll be free to write the movie you want to write, not something that's geared towards a certain audience. That's fine too, you need to bring in audiences incentives, I understand that, but at the same time you need to let go of that, that mustn't be your primary objective.

A: Do you have any other comments that I may have left out? (Based on Question 34)

D: No, not at all, I think you've covered it all. I just want to make movies. I love movies. They're the most beautiful things on earth.

A: What are you working on now? (Spontaneous Question)

D: Various things, but they're all just hanging, so I'm busy writing, I'm not actually shooting, but I've just done this interesting TV series called *Ella Blue* which I think is really interesting.

A: Do you have any advice for up and coming filmmakers? (Spontaneous Question)

D: No, I get asked that question all the time and I answer it differently all the time. I generally just say get up and do it. And that is the final advice, if you want to do it you'll do it and it ain't going to be easy. There's only one Gavin Hood who wins the Oscar and the rest of us struggle.

APPENDIX D: EXAMPLE OF INTERVIEW TRANSCRIPT (2)

Interviewee: Helena Spring
Location: Johannesburg
Date: 31.01.08

A: Can you give me a bit of background information on how you got involved in production and what your experience has been? (Based on Question 1)

Helena: I started off doing a drama degree, but from the first time I became aware of a career in film as a possibility, I realised that this was actually the industry I wanted to be in. I did all the normal things, I started on factory floor, I did a variety of different jobs until I graduated into production and from production I graduated into producing. People take different avenues, people come to producing from the financial side, I came to it from production and the creative side.

A: And which post-apartheid films have you worked on? (Designed to draw out information related to Question 1)

H: I must tell what the films are that we've done in the last ten years: *Yesterday*, *Mama Jack*, *Mr. Bones*, *Red Dust*, *More than Just a Game*, *Dollars and White Pipes* I'm sure there are a few more.

A: And what would you say was your most outstanding production? (Spontaneous Question)

H: I don't work like that. My most outstanding production is my next production. It's always the next production. You do a project as well as you can and you always aim to do the next one better. Once the project is finished and it's done and it's out there, it's almost like raising a child and then it gets to adulthood, well then it must do what it likes. Same thing with movies, I can't hang onto a film that we did a year or two years or ten years ago.

A: You guys make a lot of movies at Videovision (comment)

H: Yes, we are quite prolific by South African standards.

A: By South African standards you're quite a big studio. One of the reasons I wanted to talk to you as well was because you'd worked with Leon Shuster and a few of his films. (Question specific to interview)

H: Well, we've done his two most successful films; we haven't done all his films with him. And we're doing a third one that starts shooting in two or three weeks time. (Now completed, Mr Bones 2 is due for release on 27 Nov 09)

A: I want to speak to him because these are some of the only local films that have actually made quite a lot of money. Mr Bones came second to the Titanic, in terms of sales. I just wanted to ask you if you could speak about that, what do you think sold those films? (Based on Question 30)

H: Whether his humour is your taste or not, is irrelevant. The fact is that Leon Shuster understands his audience in a way that cuts across all barriers. It is fascinating for us as well. Obviously we know that he's a hugely successful South African icon. But it's very interesting to watch his process at work. He has an intrinsic understanding of what his audience wants and because he has no specific affiliations or sacred cows there's no differentiation between who he lampoons whether it's a white Afrikaans speed cop on the side of the road or a black woman carrying something on her head. He has no respect or disrespect for any particular culture. But he has a fantastic understanding of human nature and what the triggers are within the various segments of society. So the one thing that you will dread hearing said out loud or the one thing that might embarrass you or tickle your funny bone, Leon has an instinctive understanding of what that is. And he capitalizes on that. And besides that, he's a very imaginative, creative man. He's hugely involved in the writing of his own scripts and he's a good actor. He's really the ultimate performer and entertainer. And he has no internal barriers. When he gets into character, whether he's

doing a candid camera film and catching people out in the streets as a tramp or whether he's Mama Jack or Mr. Bones, he immerses himself absolutely completely. And there's no area where he says he's embarrassed to do this or he has a reluctance to do that; whatever that character would do goes. And of course it's not just instinct, he's put a huge amount of work into it. I think he looks at comedy from all over the world, almost obsessively so and he researches and analyses those things that have a universal component that will make an audience laugh anywhere. I think it's well deserved success.

A: A lot of people now want to make slap stick comedy because it's the genre that's selling. Would you say it's his personality that sells or the genre that is inherently marketable? (Based on Question 30)

H: I think South Africans love comedy. In fact most audiences all over the world love comedy. A successful comedy can't be beaten. So I do think it's genre, in fact what Leon has proven is that there's a massive audience for that particular genre. But I've watched with interest the kind of films that have come into the market place that have tried to emulate Leon and what surprised me is that what they focused on (and all of those films have failed) is a kind of external crassness for want of a better word. Because if you really analyse Leon's work it is multi layered. It's not just some guy being rude or scatological in an inappropriate way. Those gags are very finely set up with a very specific pay off and it always links into some kind of character driven aspect of the overall story. So I think it's unfortunate actually that there have been filmmakers who have chosen to look at his work and pick out the most obvious superficial elements without understanding what underlies those elements and then trying to reproduce it in a crude way. Of course it doesn't succeed because even if the audience can't, pinpoint by analysis what is wrong it still doesn't resonant with them in the correct way.

And of course over the years Leon has become hugely popular as an individual so the fact that he's playing the lead in his own movies contributes massively to their success. But I can guarantee you that if Leon wrote a script and was heavily involved in the creative side with another actor playing the lead role, that film would also be successful. If you look at the cast that surrounds Leon in his movies, they all work, their characters work, their gags

work; it all comes together as a coherent whole. So it's Leon's vision and his excellent understanding of his audience that pulls it together. It's understanding human nature; it's more than the physical fact of somebody slipping on a banana peel. It's a particular kind of person under given conditions; I'm using slipping on a banana peel metaphorically of course.

A: Yes, like in Mama Jack all the different characters he plays. It's quite fun and also insightful the relationship between the maid and the … (Comment)

H: Yes, it's satirical in many ways, he always comments on conditions and events in South African society at a given time.

A: How have the films you've been making been funded? (Question 3)

H: We're funded in a variety of different ways, we're privately funded, through the company's own resources, sometimes we do co-productions, for example, we have often collaborated with the BBC. At the moment we're involved in a Canadian co-production. So occasionally we do have partners, mostly we fund ourselves with the help of other investors. We have once or twice had funding from the IDC and of course small funding from the NFVF, but that's not really meaningful in terms of getting your film made.

A: Because they know they're going to work… (Comment)

H: I must say we've been lucky in that most of our films have done well. If you think that some have done financially and even if they haven't done financially well they've done critically well. So we like to make films that matter so I guess that's taken into their mandate as well.

A: Have you heard about the Sediba scriptwriting course because some people that have applied for NFVF funding are told to go through this scriptwriting course? (Question 33)

H: I know about the Sediba course and I think it's a good thing because we have a lot of raw talent. We're high on raw talent, but low on polished talent. So where somebody has got a good concept and the creative ability, but not necessarily the training to get to a finished product, I think it's a great idea for them to go through a program like that, but as far as I'm aware it's not a requirement to apply for the funding.

A: And what do you think of the three-act film structure? Are the films that you're involved in, do they have the three- act film structure or do you have different times of structure? (Question 25)

H: The three-act structure is the most common one. And it's one that is known to work but there's been quite big a move towards five-act structure and those films can work equally well. You have to do what works for your particular story. We're very low on rules within the company. For us it's matter of what each story demands.

A: Have you generally been able to cover the costs in the productions that you've made in this period that I'm looking at? (Question 4)

H: No, not all of them, but having said that, Anant Singh is remarkable in the way that he is able to market projects out of this country and in my view he's the only one that's really been successful with it. On the whole you have to make ten films to have one or two good successes. Maybe a few break even and on two or three you lose, that's just the nature of the industry. It's a very difficult industry, especially because we can't recover costs in our own market. You have to be sure that you can sell into at least a few other territories.

A: Does he do a lot of other international exporting? (Spontaneous Question)

H: Anant does a huge amount of international marketing and traveling. That's the way it goes and of course there's been a whole shift in the way that films make money. Previously it was your theatrical box office that you looked to recover your investment. That model no longer works. Your theatrical release is generally a billboard for what is to come in terms of what we now call the long tail which I'm sure you've heard of. The long on-going sales on

DVD and television are what make the difference. You will often do DVD and TV sales in territories for which you were unable to secure a theatrical release.

A: So that's where you try and recoup the funds? (Spontaneous Question)

H: Well, you try and recoup it as soon as possible. I'm just saying that the model has changed and there are still films that do very well theatrically, but those are few and far between.

A: Do you generally make large or small budget films? (Spontaneous Question)

H: By South African standards our films are probably on the high end of the scale, but by international standards our budgets are very small. We do quite a mix, we do some really small films and then as I said, by South African standards some which can be considered high

A: How do you generally select your crewmembers for your productions? Do you try get in a 100 percent South African crew? (Based on Question 5)

H: As far as possible, sometimes, especially now that there are a number of co-production treaties in place under the terms of which your expenditure has to be in the same ratio as the investment ratios, you're obliged to bring in people from the co-producing country and obviously, if a specific actor is going to make more sales possible then we'd bring in maybe one or two actors. But by and large our films are 100 percent South African. And even those that aren't are probably between 90 - 95%.

A: What are your views on international co-production? (Question 27)

H: I think it can be a good thing, however, there are also criteria which can be self-defeating in that you sometimes spend money that does not end up on screen in order to meet the criteria of the co-production treaties.

A: On what?

H: For example, let's say your international party puts in 60 percent and SA puts in 40 percent then your expenditure has to be 60 percent in the country from which your 60 percent investment comes and 40 percent locally. Which means, in order to make that expenditure split, you have to spend money on foreign crew and cast that you would ordinarily spend on South Africans. That's if you shoot the production here.

A: So you have to bring people in and spend more money that what you usually would? (Spontaneous Question)

H: Yes, that can happen. I'd like to see a co-production treaty whereby you do what is right for the project and what is most economical and viable for the project rather than meeting criteria for each country, but of course each country enters into a co-production treaty because they want to grow their own people in their own industry. And, in the end a co-production treaty can make the difference between a project being made or being shelved because, mostly, it enables producers to share risk in an advantageous way, utilizing the support that each country has to offer.

A: How are the films generally distributed? (Question 7)

H: We distribute all films that we are involved in. We distribute ourselves and we also work with different sales agencies in various territories.

A: Do they often reach audiences in Ster-Kinekor and Nu Metro?

H: Yes, UIP is usually our SA distributor and we exhibit both through Ster-Kinekor and Nu Metro. The company used to own cinemas as well, but we have recently sold these.

A: Where are those?

H: At Cape Town we have at Grandwest. We have complex of cinemas there for example.

A: What do you think can be done to improve the local consumption of South African films? (Question 32)

H: You make films that the SA audiences want to see. First of all, there's a big part of our population that hasn't had TV or cinema and that's been improving, but nonetheless, we have a population of 45-50 million people by now of which we probably have audiences and cinemas for 4-5 million. So, in fact we haven't capitalized as South Africans on the numbers and made it possible, for example like countries such India have, for a very broad group to be able to access films easily. So, having said that, there's only so much you can do within the South African pipeline and yes, we exploit that pipeline as far as we possibly can, but it's present potential is limited.. And it's also part of the reason why we can't cover our costs. But you were asking about South African audiences, how can we improve the consumption, so first of all access needs to be improved. Secondly, we need to cultivate a little more of a cinema going culture, we've got a strong television culture, and we don't have a strong cinema going culture or strong DVD culture yet. Those are the external factors, but in terms of the actual films you can't actually blame the audience for not finding the film attractive. It's your job …

Change tape…

A film like "As it is in Heaven" which was a Swedish art film played for weeks and weeks and weeks. So did movies like *Titanic*, how much did it gross? In those years, way over 40 million, *Mr Bones* was just barely behind it. So there *is* an audience that goes to cinema. What we have to do is give them a story that they can relate to, that will either make them laugh or cry or both. I think it's so wrong of filmmakers to complain about South African audiences. There are films that have proved that there are audiences out there and that audience should be expanded. There should be access for broader audiences, there should be a greater cinema going culture, but having said that the audience that is already out there does not get enough good South African product on a regular basis.

A: I think the quality can be quite low…. (Comment)

H: It's not even quality, because if you shot *Bill Cosby* or *Greys Anatomy* on super 8 or any ordinary little kind of low, non-broadcast quality format, but you had the same story values and the same performances, do you think people would enjoy it less? They wouldn't. I don't think it's a technical quality. Script, story, slickness of storytelling, really telling stories in an effortless way so that an audience can lose themselves in what is happening on the screen rather than watch each scene clunking into place with a complete lack of authenticity and relevance.

A: Would you say that the skills that are lacking would be storytelling skills? (Based on Question 29)

H: I think they are mainly creative skills. We've got very good technical skills, in fact, disproportionately so to the creative skills. We have technicians that can compete internationally (and they do) because we have a lot of big films coming here and being made here that enable them to sharpen those skills. People are also acquiring a lot of sound technical skills in the commercials industry. Obviously you always want to expand that talent base but our core of people with strong creative vision, with a very specific and informed style, whatever the genre or story, is very limited. It's improving. There are new voices coming in all the time now that our society is a little more equal, but it takes time to evolve that voice.

A: What responses have your films received from the media? Have you had any particular responses? (Question 8)

H: Each film stands on its own, there's no trend. You're only as good as the film that's out there. We've been lucky in that we have, I can't think of one exception, but on the whole we've had very good responses to our films so we've been fortunate. They haven't all done financially equally well in SA. A film like *Red Dust* which is a film about the TRC, is very compelling and interesting to European audiences for example but South Africans sat through months of that on television and had all the stress and build up to liberation in the first election and the whole aftermath of that. They don't' want to look at that for entertainment anymore. But in terms of the media all our films, including *Red Dust* have

had a great response, in fact that film got phenomenal reviews, locally and abroad. So, as I said, if you're talking about SA only we've been lucky in that we've had some films that have done very well in the local market and where they haven't done well financially, where they are films that are of more interest to an international audience, we have nonetheless been very well received in terms of critical response.

A: And have you made any other TRC films beside *Red Dust*? (Spontaneous Question)

H: No, there was another film that was made called *In my Country*, but we weren't involved in that at all.

A: Do you think the dominance of Hollywood products on our screen has an impact on audience development? (Question 28)

H: Absolutely. Audiences get used to a certain level of production value and so everything that follows in its wake is expected to equal that. You either have to differentiate completely or you need to be able to compete. We can't possibly compete with Hollywood's enormous films. So the films that we can look at are human drama, stories with heart, unique humour like Shuster's and so on. But there's no doubt that our audiences have been deeply influenced by what has been on offer from the American market. Films are one of America's biggest exports and they protect that export very aggressively. Whether you agree with the values within the stories, the cultural and social values and whether they are appropriate to our society, that's a different question, but certainly the fact that our audiences love American films, of that there's no question.

A: And do you think that the funding and distribution difficulties that some film makers in South Africa have had has an impact on their creative self-expression and the type of films that they make; that they're limited? (Loosely based on Question 26)

H: Of course those things are inextricably linked. However, if you go into a dress shop and you find a dress that is either completely futuristic and is made out of tin foil or hails back to the '50's or is a dress from the 1800's are you necessarily going to buy it? No, they're

not forms of dress that there's anything wrong with, but they're not valid for you or for your wardrobe now and in the same way people sometimes get upset when their unique extreme unusual off-the-wall idea or a somber, tragic story fails to get funding Whereas a funder simply considers the investment opportunity and whether they believe the film will fail or succeed. One wants to make films that give people with unique creative vision, a voice. We do want to do that, but generally in our experience, we have found that we have to make those films on very limited resources in keeping with what the film can earn. Filmmakers can come up with stories that are unusual and interesting and heartwarming. Consider films like *Trainspotting*, *Shine* or *Whale Rider*. These are films that suddenly came into the market place from nowhere and really captured audience imagination so we're not talking about beautiful or original stories that come to you from completely new angles but still express the universal values that audiences want. We're talking about the fact that people sometimes have really bizarre ideas and they get really upset because they don't get funding and distribution for it. You always have to think, what would I want to see, what would I pay money for? It's not whether the film is worthy or whether it's good for audiences to be exposed to or whether the filmmaker feels audiences should buckle under and watch something more serious. That's not what it's about; it's about supply and demand, what is and isn't viable. What will touch people, what wont?

A: Would you say there are any trends in representation of national identity in films in SA? (Question 23)

H: There quite a few films being made at the moment and also now with the new rebate, I think there's going to be a proliferation of local films. And I think mostly South Africans draw stories from their society and history. Up till quite recently, we've been almost entirely politically focused. There was a time and a place when those films were interesting and unusual. Now audiences are suffering from a little bit of political fatigue. And it's taking a little bit of time for South African story tellers to realise this when actually we have got such a rich society and there's such a wonderful vein across our various cultures, language groups, socio-economic groups that we can draw stories from. There is so much potential that can be exploited here and now that funding through the DTI is going to make producing more possible for smaller film makers, I think you are going to get a far bigger

diversity of South African stories that draw on various aspects of South African society and culture.

A: Do you have any other comments? (Question 34)

H: If you've made a number of films and you've had a number of different experiences then you tend to have a broader view. It makes sense, if you've made thirty films or you've made three films, because each film is such a unique experience and demands such different things and gets a different response from different markets and different audiences. I think what you learn with time is maybe to avoid the most obvious pitfalls so you don't go down that street with a pot hole again, maybe try different ways and different avenues.

A: I've spoken to funders and distributors and they've got quite a broad view. In terms of filmmakers most people I've spoken to have only made one film and then their opinion can be a lot more extreme.

H: Well also the thing is we have quite a big part of the industry is service orientated so even though they're attached to a film in a producing capacity, what they're actually doing is facilitating somebody else's film. And that is also a very different experience because although you're involved in the mechanics and so on of film making and producing a final product, you don't have ownership of it and consequently you don't' have the accountability of getting it out there and dealing with whatever success or failure that comes it's way. I guess in that way I'm lucky enough to work with a company that is unique. We do have a full range of experience.

APPENDIX E: LIST OF QUESTIONS

Group One (Directors, producers and screen writers)

1) When did you become involved in the South African film industry? Please provide a brief professional background.
2) When was … (name of film) made?
3) How are your films generally funded?
4) Were you able to cover the production costs incurred?
5) How did you select the crew and cast for this production?
6) Do you believe that the current funding difficulties experienced by filmmakers is having an impact on their creative self-expression?
7) How are your products generally distributed?
8) What response has your film received from the public and/or the media?
9) What is the inspiration behind the production of … (name of film) / your work?
10) Have any of your films received funding from the NFVF?

Group Two (Funding agents)

11) Approximately how many South African films are funded by your organisation per annum?
12) How much money in total is spent on the funding of local productions?
13) Please explain the criteria used to select which films receive funding.
14) Please explain how the funding application process works?
15) In your experience, have you found South African productions to be financially successful?

Group Three (Distributors, exhibitors and broadcasters)

16) How would you describe the distribution of local films in South Africa?
17) Which post-apartheid films have you distributed?

Group Four (Film schools and trainers)

18) Have you heard of The Entertainment Value Assessment Matrix (EVAM)? If so what is your opinion of this assessment/training method?
19) What informs your training material?

Group Five (Film Offices and organisations)

20) Can you provide a brief historical background to the … organisation?
21) What is the role of the organization?
22) Does your organization offer any form of training?

General (Common questions found across all interview categories)

23) How would you describe the representation of South African national identity in cinema? Would you say that there are any trends?
24) How would you define a 100 percent (true/genuine) South African production?
25) What is your opinion of the 3-Act film structure?
26) Do you believe that the funding that a film receives has an impact on the nature of the final product?
27) What are your views on international co-productions?
28) Do you think that the dominance of Hollywood product on our screens has an impact on audience development?
29) Would you say that there is a skills shortage in the South African film industry? If so, which skills would you say are lacking?
30) What do you think makes a film sell?
31) Currently only a small fraction of the South African population have access to cinema. What do you think could be done to improve this?
32) What do you think can be done to increase the consumption of local films?
33) Have you heard of the Sediba scriptwriting course?
34) Do you have any general comments about the South African national film industry?

APPENDIX F: ANALYSIS OF INTERVIEW ANSWERS

Group One Questions:

1) When did you become involved in the South African film industry? Please provide a brief professional background (Interview data has been combined with relevant secondary data to complete interviewee profiles (see Appendix B)

2) When was … (name of film) made?

a) This information has been incorporated into the film database located in Appendix A

3) How was the film (are your films) funded? (20 people answered, 23 responses)

Table 1: Funding Source

	Source of funding	*N*	%
Multiple source	a) International co-production (3) b) Public funding (only) (1) c) Mixture of public and private finance (9) d) Private funding (only) (4)	17	74
Single source	e) International sponsor (3) f) Self funded (3)	6	26
Total		**23**	**100**

4) Were you able to cover the production costs incurred? (12 people answered)

Table 2: Redemption of Production Costs

Category	*N*	%
Yes	4	33.33
No	7	58.33
Not always	1	8.33
Total:	**12**	**100**

5) How did you select the crew and cast for this production? (7 people answered, 11 responses)

Table 3: Selection of Cast and Crew

COMMENTS	*N*	%
Mix of professional and inexperienced cast	3	27
Professional crew	3	27
Professional actors	1	9
Mix of professional and inexperienced crew	1	9
Some foreign cast	1	9
100 percent South African cast	2	18
Total:	**11**	**100**

6) Do you believe that the current funding difficulties experienced by filmmakers are having an impact on their creative self-expression? (9 people answered)

Table 4: Finances and Creativity

Categories	COMMENTS	*N*	%
No	a) Cannot blame finances for everything. (1) b) It is more complex than that, not just creativity vs finance. (1)	2	22
Yes	**c)** There is a clear impact (4) **d)** Yes, but a big budget does not guarantee a successful film. (2) **e)** Yes, the NFVF promotes a rigid nationalist discourse (1)	7	78
Total:		**9**	**100**

7) How was the film/are your products generally distributed? (16 answered, 30 responses)

Table 5: Distribution Practices

COMMENTS	*N*	%
Distributed it ourselves	3	10
Ster-Kinekor distributed it locally	6	20
Digital release	3	10
Bought and distributed by an international sales agent	6	20
Nu Metro distributed it locally	1	3.33
Film shown around the country for free on mobile units	1	3.33
Shown mostly at festivals	4	13
Used video on demand	1	3.33
Shown on local/foreign television	2	6.66
DVD	3	10
Total	**30**	**100**

8) What response has your film received from the public and/or the media? (2 people) *(*Too few people asked for analysis)

9) What is the inspiration behind the production of (name of film)? (17 people answered)

Table 6: Production Inspiration

Reason for making film:	*N*	%
a) The film/my films had/have a social message	13	76
b) I made it for personal reasons	2	12
c) There is no message behind my work	2	12
Total:	**17**	**100**

10) Have any of your films received funding from the NFVF? (8 people answered)

Table 7: National Film and Video Foundation Support

Categories		COMMENTS	*N*	%
NFVF SUPPORT	**Yes**	a) Most of my projects have received money from them (2) b) I have received a little money from them (1)	3	37.5
	No	*c) I have not approached them directly (3)* *d) International films don't receive money from them (1)* e) I was rejected (1)	5	62.5
Total:			**8**	**100**

Group Two Questions:

11) Approximately how many South African films are funded by your organisation per annum? (Only 3 answers will look at secondary sources to compliment this data)

12) How much money in total is spent on the funding of local productions? (Only 2 answers will look at secondary sources to compliment this data).

13) Please explain the criteria used to select which films receive funding. (Only 3 answers will look at secondary sources to compliment this data).

14) Please explain how the funding application process works? **(**Only 4 answers will look at secondary sources to compliment this data).

15) In your experience, have you found South African productions to be financially successful? (Only 2 answers will look at secondary sources to compliment this data).

Group Three Questions:

16) How would you describe the distribution of local films in South Africa? (8 people answered, 11 responses)

Table 8: Distribution of Local Films

Categories	COMMENTS	*N*	%
Negative	a) Exhibition and distribution is monopolised by Ster Kinekor, Nu Metro and UIP (5) b) This monopoly does not serve the filmmakers or the industry (2) c) It is a production driven environment without enough emphasis on distribution practices. (1) d) Distributors do not believe in local product and do not promote it properly because they are lazy (1)	9	82
Neutral	e) Local films do well at budget and art house exhibition sites (1) f) DVD distribution is on the increase (1)	2	18
Total:		**11**	**100**

17) Which post-apartheid films have you distributed/exhibited/broadcast? (6 people answered, 8 responses.

Table 9: Selecting films for Distribution/Exhibition/Broadcast

COMMENTS	*N*	%
Every one we could get we are desperate for content	3	38
Local content needs to be good quality to broadcast it and needs to have done well on circuit.	2	25
Needs to please the audience	2	25
We have shown 2 films	1	12
Total:	**8**	**100**

Group Four Questions:

18) Have you heard of The Entertainment Value Assessment Matrix (EVAM)? If so what is your opinion of this assessment/training method? (6 people answered, 7 responses)

Table 10: Response to Evam

Categories	COMMENTS	*N*	%
Negative	a) We rejected it when SABC tried to enforce it, because it is nonsense (3) b) It is controversial because it was not developed by the industry it was created in a private film school for their assessment (1) c) Shows how the SABC sees producers as mere content providers (1)	5	71.5
Neutral	d) It is the assessment method used at AFDA (1) e) SABC wanted to apply it because they were impressed by AFDA's product (1)	2	28.5
Total:		**7**	**100**

19) What informs your training material? (4 people answered - None of the responses directly answered the question)

Table 11: Source of Training Material

COMMENTS	*N*
Good screenwriting books do not cover niche films. The only examples provided are films with a wide coverage (mostly Hollywood product)	1
Most of the post-apartheid filmmakers were influenced by outside forces anyway because they studied filmmaking in exile	1
There is a universal way of telling stories, which is related to the three-act structure, and Campbell's theory of the universality of myths	1
The SEDIBA training is South African it is not run by foreigners	1
I would say that Hollywood is the primary influence on EVAM and AFDA's training material, but one could also argue that the EVAM matrix could be applied to films from any culture	1

Group Five Questions:

20) Can you provide a brief historical background to the CFC/DFO? **(**Answers were too detailed to include here will combine with secondary research in Chapter 4).

21) What is the role of the organization? **(**Answers were too detailed to include here will combine with secondary research in Chapter 4).

22) Does your organization offer any form of training? (5 people answered)

Table 12: Training

COMMENTS	*N*	%
Sediba Screenwriting course	3	60
Co-runs/facilitates course with SASWA and others – but not just for script writing for other specialisations	1	20
Facilitate SASWA training	1	20
Total:	**5**	**100**

General Questions:

23) How would you describe the representation of South African national identity in cinema? Would you say that there are any trends? (24 people answered, 34 responses)

Table 13: Representation of National Identity

Category	COMMENTS	*Answers by Group*						**Total**	
		1	2	3	4	5	6	***N***	**%**
Neutral	a) Not a enough work to analyse this yet	2		1				**3**	**9**
Trends	**b)** Politics, society and history	2						**13**	**38**
	c) There is a diversity of narratives	1							
	d) Black and white issues			1					
	e) Children in lead roles				2				
	f) Township gangster, crime and violence	3							
	g) Small stories	1							
	h) I always have social commentary in my	1							

	films								
	i) Shift from politics to comedies/coming of age	1			1				
Critical	j) Our films tend to stereotype people	1		2				**18**	**53**
	k) Too many historical, apartheid films	2							
	l) It is too soon to make films about apartheid/transformation	1		1					
	m) Films are not reflective of ourselves or our society	3	1	2					
	n) In RSA cinema one can see that we are a confused nation without an identity	2							
	o) Films made for export. This shows in the product	1	1						
	p) Whites are not examining their situation in post-apartheid RSA on film.	1				1			
	q) Mostly white people representing black people.	1		1					
Total								**34**	**100**

24) How would you define a 100 percent South African production? (9 answered)

Table 14: A True South African Production?

COMMENTS	*N*	%
It is no longer possible to make 100%/pure productions everything needs to be hybrid	4	44
The intellectual property must be owned by a South African.	1	11
The director, cast and crew must all be South African.	2	22
A film's identity is not defined only by who makes it but also who watches it – therefore should be targeted at a RSA audience.	1	11
That is a complicated academic question. It is South African if it qualifies for state subsidy.	1	11
Total:	**9**	**100**

25) What is your opinion of the 3-Act film structure? (16 people answered)

Table 15: The Three-Act Structure

Category	COMMENTS	Answers by Group						**Total**	
		1	2	3	4	5	6	*N*	%
Positive/ I use it	a) Traditional storytelling techniques (like oral narrative) cannot be transposed directly to cinema	1						**8**	**50**
	b) It has value, but I am more interested in finding talented people.								
	c) It is the best way to tell a story	2							
	d) I use it	2							
	e) Often at the end there are three acts though but this is subconscious.	3							
Negative/ I do not use it	f) These kind of formulas are rubbish and are a way for film schools to make money	1						**8**	**50**
	g) I do not like to be boxed in by a Hollywood formula	1							
	h) I do not know what it is. I do not follow it	1							
	i) I do not follow rules I prefer to follow the story at hand	2							
	j) There is no formula for successful filmmaking	2					1		
Total:								**16**	**100**

26) Do you believe that the funding that a film receives has an impact on the nature of the final product? (14 people answered, 15 responses)

Table 16: Impact of Funding Models

Category	COMMENTS	Answers by Group						**Total**	
		1	2	3	4	5	6	*N*	%
Yes it does	a) Usually it does	5	1					**11**	**73**
	b) Creative/story/casting decisions are influenced by where the money is coming from	1							
	c) Government film policies influence the kind of	2							

	films that are made								
	d) Finances interfere with the director's vision	2							
Neutral	e) A big budget does not guarantee a good film	1	1					**3**	**20**
	f) There are also lots of other elements involved	1							
No it doesn't	**g)** It is the other way around. The type of film determines the available finance						1	**1**	**7**
Total:								**14**	**100**

27) What are your views on international co-productions? (25 people answered, 42 comments)

Table 17: Co-Productions

Category	COMMENTS	Answers by Group						**Total**	
		1	2	3	4	5	6	*N*	%
Positive	a) Impossible to make a film nowadays without the help of foreign collaborators	2		2				**14**	**33**
	b) RSA's are often too proud and protective, there is nothing wrong with using foreign actors		1						
	c) Helps to make more slick, international films	1							
	d) Collaborating with more-experienced, foreign partners can advance local skills	1		3		1			
	e) It is a positive investment tool in our industry	2	1	1					
	f) Co-productions access a much wider mark	1							
Cautionary	g) Need to collaborate with other African countries. It does not work between RSA and Europe	1		1				**10**	**24**
	h) Need to ensure a share in the creative control	2		2					
	i) Copyright must be held by a South African		1						
	j) It depends on how it is realised	2							
Negative	k) Limited to countries with relevant treaties, not a long-term strategy to grow the industry	1						**18**	**43**
	l) Foreign leads are often favoured to the detriment of the production			3			1		

	m) Using Foreign facilities, crew and cast make films expensive & it's difficult to recoup cost	2							
	n) Treaties written by accountants, bureaucrats and officials not by film people, as a result the rules are too complicated and unsuitable	1							
	o) A weaker currency/economy makes RSA the junior partner resulting in the loss of creative control & films being made for foreign audience	4		1					
	p) Tendency to pursue certain angles/ideologies	2							
	q) Not so many films have been made this way	1							
	r) Committee-style production approach is messy	1					1		
Total:								**42**	**100**

28) Do you think that the dominance of Hollywood product on our screens has an impact on audience development? (18 people answered)

Table 18: Impact of Hollywood Dominance on Local Screens

Category	COMMENTS	Answers by Group						**Total**	
		1	2	3	4	5	6	*N*	%
No	a) No, it has no impact		1	1				**3**	**17**
	b) Only a small percentage of the population have accesses to film, American dominance is spread through other more easily accessible cultural sites like radio, music or television.			1					
Yes	c) It does, but one cannot pose an ideological restriction on the distributors.	1						**15**	**83**
	d) It has resulted in a trend of Hollywood being popular and audiences being sceptical of local content.	2	1	1		1	1		
	e) Yes it does.	5							
	f) Audiences are used to a certain level of production value and locals cannot compete at this level.	1							

	g) The sanctions that took British product off the screen has only made it worse.			1					
	h) We tend to mimic Hollywood in our productions.	1							
Total:								**18**	**100**

29) Would you say that there is a skills shortage in the South African film industry? If so, which skills would you say are lacking? (21 people answered, 26 responses)

Table 19: Skills

Category	COMMENTS	Answers by Group						**Total**	
		1	2	3	4	5	6	*N*	%
No	a) There is no skills shortage. We have world-class technicians	4						**5**	**19**
	b) No there are no skills missing, there is a money shortage	1							
Yes	c) Shortage of black and female practitioners in the industry. There needs to be a skills transfer to correct this.	2	1		1			**21**	**81**
	d) There is a shortage in screenwriting skills.	2	1		2		2		
	e) There are not enough screenwriters because it does not pay properly in South Africa.	2							
	f) Need better producers and directors.	1					1		
	g) Distribution is a scarce skill.			1					
	h) In the heads of departments there is a shortage.	1							
	i) People with creative vision are lacking.	1							
	j) More technicians to service large-scale productions						1		
	k) The national skills programme has not progressed as promised. An expensive, private film school (AFDA) is not a suitable alternative.	1		1					
Total:								**26**	**100**

30) What do you think makes a film sell? (12 people answered, 18 responses)

Table 20: What Makes a Film Sell?

Categories		COMMENTS	Answers by Group						Total	
			1	2	3	4	5	6	*N*	%
Art/ Aesthetics		a) A good script	2	1					**7**	**39**
		b) The performances	1							
		c) The story	1		1			1		
Commercial	Genre	d) Teenage comedies sell the best			1				**11**	**61**
		e) Schuster-style comedies with wide appeal	1		1					
		f) Should not make political/historical films	1		1					
		g) Experimental films do not make money, they need state support			1					
	Marketing	h) Plan the timing of film's release			1					
		i) Create hype through marketing		1				1		
	Audience	j) Make films for current audience/market	1							
		k) Film with wide appeal	1							
Total:									**18**	**100**

31) Currently only a small fraction of the South African population have access to cinema. What do you think could be done to improve this situation? (10 people answered)

32) What do you think can be done to increase the consumption of local cinema? (33 answered)

The answers to these two questions have been combined under 'Question 32', because the answers overlapped.

- 43 people answered in total
- 80 (this is high because some people answered more than one of the aforementioned questions, and some also provided multiple answers).
- The key statements have been written in bold to allow for easier reading.

Table 21: Addressing Cinema Consumption and Access:

	Problems/challenges	Suggested Solutions
NEW TECHNOLOGY	• Cinema in its **traditional** form isn't sustainable without state/private support (3) [G1x2, G6] • **Entertainment platforms** are multiplying, need to reach audience using new media (1) [G5]	• **Internet broadband must be thickened** so movie downloads are quicker for 'Video on Demand' and 'Pay per View' (2) [G1, G3] • **Television** is more democratic. The SABC should buy more local films (2) [G1, G5] • State should invest in **DVD retail**/rental outlets in township areas (6) [G1, G3x2, G5, G6] • **Quality** of cinema houses needs to be improved to meet the growing popularity of home theatres (1) [G1]
ACCESS	• Waiting for shopping malls to be built in townships so that **cinemas** can be introduced it too slow a solution (2) [G1, G4] • People don't want to be force-fed content from **mobile cinemas** (1) [G4] • Distribution infrastructure is the problem (3) [G1, G2, G4]	• Access to cinema should be facilitated by the **state**. Alternative exhibition venues, in particular low-cost digital screens need to be built (7) [G1X6, G2]
AUDEINCE	• Economic class and cinema access **divides the audience** (1) [G1] • Black population **alienated** from cinema culture, prefer more social activities like going to church, a *shebeen* or to friends (4) [G1, G3, G4, G6]	• State **support for visual literacy initiatives** particularly amongst black youth to build a culture of cinema-going (2) [G1, G3] • The black audience simply **needs access to cinemas.** It does not need to be 'developed' or educated' (2) [G4, G5]
APPEAL	**STATE-DRIVEN CHANGES**	
	• Distributors have a history of selling US products, audience are not used to watching local films (4) [G1x3,G3]	• Support **Independent cinema houses** to exhibit alternative content (1) [G6] • **Incentives** to buy/rent/watch local (1) [G5] • **Marketing & promotion** of local product needs to be introduced earlier (2) [G3, G5]

		• Local film **stars** can attract audiences (4) [G1] • Less rigid/nationalistic funding mechanism to make more real, appealing films (1) [G1]
	FILMMAKER-DRIVEN CHANGES	
	• **Local film quality is low** (3) [G1x3] • **RSA cinema culture is 'white'**, limits what type of films are popular (3) [G1, G3, G5] • **Experimental films** are only tolerated by elite audiences (2) [G3x2, G5] • People do not support local cinema because they **do not see themselves** on screen (3) [G1x2, G3]	• **Make more films & dump the bad ones** (4) [G1, G2x2, G3] • **Make films** to feed the existing market/know your target audience (7) [G1x5, G2, G3] • Can not make films about **HIV, Apartheid** and politics (3) [G1x2, G3] • Make films about **present day life,** about themselves (3) [G1x2, G3] • Break into the '**Black' market** (1) [G1]

33) Have you heard of the Sediba scriptwriting course? **(**14 people answered)

Table 22: Sediba

Category	COMMENTS	Answers by Group						**Total**	
		1	2	3	4	5	6	*N*	%
Positive	a) It is encouraging. I think that it is a good thing	1	1					**4**	**29**
	b) I attended it and I found it useful	2							
Negative	c) I did it, and I wonder why they do not teach narrative structures alternative to Hollywood	2						**10**	**71**
	d) I did not do it because I see it as a kind of cultural mafia trying to shape the story you want to tell. I think this is why the NFVF will not fund me now	2							
	e) This is the type of course that gives people false hope and actually destroys lives as a result	1							
	f) There is a disproportionate amount of scriptwriting courses and nothing comes out of them.	2							
	g) Why is it run by someone from Leeds University?	1							

	h) I wouldn't go on this course	1							
	i) It should focus on 4 not 40 writers	1							
Total:								**14**	**100**

34) Do you have any general comments about the South African national film industry? (31 people answered) (Here various themes arose. I have listed the comments below under these headings).

Table 23: Export

Category	COMMENTS	Answers by Group						**Total**	
		1	2	3	4	5	6	*N*	%
Support	a. My biggest dream is to break into the American market	1						**5**	**56**
	b. We should make films about small cultural environments in the vernacular for export market.			1					
	c. The market is too small to sustain, must export	3							
Neutral	d. We will always be niche even if our films do travel because we do not have a huge diaspora		1					**1**	**11**
Critical	e. Focus primarily on South African market. Keep films small, and personal. **Then**, there might then be a chance that they become universal and travel.	2					1	**3**	**33**
Total:								**9**	**100**

Table 24: Hollywood's influence on filmmakers

Category	COMMENTS	Answers by Group						**Total**	
		1	2	3	4	5	6	*N*	%
Negative	a. Copying Hollywood defies people's ability to represent themselves and will not lead to local or international recognition	1				2		**3**	**75**
Positive	b. Learn from the US first how to make a good film and then learn to make a great RSA film	1						**1**	**25**
Total:								**4**	**10**

		0

Table 25: The Role of the State in the Film Industry

Category	COMMENTS	Answers by Group						**Total**	
		1	2	3	4	5	6	*N*	%
Supportive	a. The state is very supportive of the local industry	1		1				**3**	**13**
	b. We have incredible amount of goodwill from government	1							
Neutral	c. Films should be state-funded because of their role in nation-building	1						**2**	**9**
	d. Film is a cultural investment, there is no cinema in the world that is commercially viable	1							
Critical	**Expenditure**							**18**	**78**
	e. Too much money spent on large-budget, runaway productions.	2	1						
	f. Filmmakers fighting over scraps due to low state expenditure, destroys development of filmmaking community	2							
	Organisation								
	g. Department of Education should also be involved						1		
	h. Art and culture are not high on the state's agenda. Cinema is understood as a tool to build national identity but not as a platform to create business			1		1			
	i. Cultural and commercial policies are varied because the DAC & DTI don't communicate enough			1					
	Subsidies & Support								
	j. State needs to stop protecting box office and the WTO agreement. Should protect local products	1							
	k. Need a national, subsidised film school	1		1			1		
	l. Too much support for bringing new people into industry and not enough for those (of all race/genders) who are already active. Therefore filmmakers often only get to make one film, cannot develop a national/auteur film culture	2							
	The National Broadcaster								
	m. SABC prioritises commercialism before the need			1			1		

	to educate, inform & entertain								
	n. SABC fails to share profits with producers or to exploit local content properly						1		
	o. SABC should be shot, the staff is incompetent						1		
Total								**23**	**100**

Table 26: The NFVF

Category	COMMENTS	Answers by Group						**Total**	
		1	2	3	4	5	6	*N*	%
Critical	General							**13**	**62**
	a) One organisation cannot run a film industry						1		
	b) A lot lacking in the industry can be blamed to a certain extent on the NFVF						2		
	c) Spend huge sums of producing and not on distribution infrastructure			1					
	d) It is all **about the party, or the launch and** not enough spent on the actual films						2		
	Artistic Control								
	e) Do not allow filmmakers to find their own voice, **no space for experimentation,** just Hollywood	2							
	f) Wield their power too much. Wanted to change my movie even though I am an experienced filmmaker	2							
	g) Chose a certain type of script.						1		
	h) Unlike NFVF, the DTI **does not try to control the** type of film you make	1							
	Commercialism								
	i) Appointed an American whose primary concern is to see success at the box office			1					
Neutral	j) The NFVF are not putting money aside to develop culture like France. They are investing in this sector of the economy because it can be a real **economic driver**		1					**4**	**19**

	k)There has been a shift to fund more commercial projects	1		1					
	l) It would be good if they could promote and distribute films as well			1					
Supportive	m) We have a supportive NFVF	1						**4**	**19**
	n) Do not want a 'revolving door' where money is wasted on unpopular, experimental films		1						
	o) Not prescriptive, want to see self-expression		1						
	p) State funds cannot support films with prejudice		1						
Total:									

Table 27: Film Critics

Category	COMMENTS	Answers by Group						**Total**	
		1	2	3	4	5	6	*N*	%
Negative	Film critics are unqualified and unhelpful	2		1				**5**	**100**
	The current ones do not do the industry or filmmakers any justice by writing the rubbish that they do about South African films. They only know how to regurgitate the international press	2							
Total:								**5**	**100**

28: Digital Technology

Category	COMMENTS	Answers by Group						**Total**	
		1	2	3	4	5	6	*N*	%
Production	Enables one to cut massive amount on production costs can essentially use hard drives	1						**2**	**22**
	Not the only solution but can make production easier for smaller filmmakers. We may get a greater diversity of RSA stories	1							
butio n / Exhib	Rental and theatrical scene will phase out and it will become more focused on home entertainment and the			1				**7**	**78**

	Internet broadband								
	If we rely on traditional distribution mechanisms we will die, we are dying.			1			1		
	Cuts down on distribution costs	1							
	Internet and pay-per-view mechanisms are the only means that independent filmmakers have at their disposal to find an audience in the world			1					
	We might be ten years behind but we will get there			1			1		
Total:								**9**	**100**

Table 29: Monopolisation

Category	COMMENTS	Answers by Group						**Total**	
		1	2	3	4	5	6	*N*	%
Negative	Ster-Kinekor and NU Metro are battling against each other are not expanding, just stagnant keeping their territories. There are fewer cinemas now than there were 10 years ago						1	**2**	**100**
	The SABC is as a monopoly is able to dictate the terms of production because the industry is not together to stand up to it	1							
Total								**2**	**100**

Table 30: Industry Collectivity

COMMENTS	Answers by Group						**Total**	
	1	2	3	4	5	6	*N*	%
We have not realised the real value in working collectively	1		1				6	100
The industry is fragmented (state bodies)			1					
Need a theatrical endeavour to get community to come and watch film			1					
There are many good programmes in action. We need a regular forum or event in our sector			1					

Need to come up with a good strategy as an industry to make cinema more accessible and internationally competitive			1					
Total:							**6**	**100**

Table 31: The State of the Post-apartheid Film Industry

Category	COMMENTS	Answers by Group						**Total**	
		1	2	3	4	5	6	*N*	%
Critical	We have had some small successes but we are failing	1						**4**	**67**
	It is not really an industry because it is not formalised or properly regulated	1							
	Very hard to make a film. It I a miracle if you do. We do not have an industry. It is a complete fluke if a RSA film gets made	1							
	We have been producing 5-8 films a year and you can't call that an industry	1							
Positive	Is there a post-apartheid film industry? Yes there is because films are being made but is it reflecting our current society? Very few films do that.			1				**2**	**33**
	I believe that we have an industry that works	1							
Total:								**6**	**100**

Table 32: Languages and Film

COMMENTS	Answers by Group						**Total**	
	1	2	3	4	5	6	*N*	%
International market doesn't want many subtitles						**1**	**3**	**100**
I would not have cast Tsotsi if it were in English because one would not have got the depth of performances						**1**		
There are many talented actors in the townships but they cannot work in English and therefore not selected for television						**1**		
							3	**100**

Table 33: Importance of cinema:

COMMENTS	Answers by Group						**Total**	
	1	2	3	4	5	6	*N*	%
Cinema is a way of investigating aspects of our lives both politically and socially	1						**5**	**100**
It is about how we see ourselves, laugh at our mistakes, learn from what we see. Unless we do this we cannot move forward			1					
Need film to change mindsets to restore dignity			1					
Cinema helps us to understand what is going on all over South Africa, which is the only way that the country is ever going to make any step further in healing the wounds	1				1			
Total:							**5**	**100**

Table 34: Explaining Schuster's Success

Category	COMMENTS	Answers by Group						**Total**	
		1	2	3	4	5	6	*N*	%
Audience	His audience is young and white	1						**4**	**33**
	Do not think that Mr Bones did well with rural black community		1						
	Could not have increased his attendance in the past 10 years if his audience had not expanded to include all race groups. He has 40% average black attendance			1					
	I am fortunate because I built an audience. Nowadays a guy can come with a brilliant idea but he is not popular because he is unknown.	1							
Talent	Has vision and excellent understanding of his audience	1						**3**	**25**
	Understands human nature. Understands his audience in a way that cuts across all barriers	1							
	He is successful because he addresses South Africa	1							
Genre	He does well because comedians always do well in their countries	1						**3**	**25**

	Need to compare him to imported comedians. He does 3-4 times what they do at the box office			1					
	He has no specific affiliations, does not respect or disrespect a particular culture	1							
Neutral	Took advantage of subsidies when they were available	1						**2**	**17**
	He is popular as an individual and he acts in his films which draws audiences	1							
Total:								**12**	**100**

Table 35: *Tsotsi's* Oscar

Category	COMMENTS	Answers by Group						**Total**	
		1	2	3	4	5	6	*N*	%
Negative	I think that it would have been a more profound film if it had been a low budget film that came from the heart as opposed to a three-act structure from Hollywood	1						**6**	**75**
	Does not deal with the social issues from which the story arises	1							
	It is not a real representation if it were, it would be a horror without a happy ending					1			
	I feel that there has almost been an elitist environment in South Africa as far as cinema production is concerned. It is inaccessible to the guys on the streets. No hope in hell that they can aspire to the next Tsotsi	1				1			
	There is only one Gavin Hood who wins the Oscar and the rest of us struggle	1							
Positive	I think that it is a good representation of South Africa			1			1	**2**	**25**
Total:								**8**	**100**

APPENDIX G: DATABASE OF QUESTIONS

	Question	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34		
	GROUP 1																																			**SUM**	**AVG**
1	de Lanerolle,	1		1	1			1		1									1		1	1						1					1		1	11	
2	Desai, Rehad	1																						1		1							1		1	5	
3	Frederikse, Julie	1		1																				1			1	1		1			1		1	8	
4	Gabriel, Ian	1	1	1	1	1		1		1														1			1	1					1		1	12	
5	Garland, Ross	1		1				1		1	1													1	1			1							1	9	
6	Greene, Tim	1		1	1	1				1																1										6	
7	Hickson, David	1	1	1	1	1	1	1		1	1													1	1	1	1	1		1	1		1		1	18	
8	Jammy, David	1		1				1		1									1			1				1			1				1		1	10	
9	Javitz, Dan	1		1						1									1			1					1	1	1	1	1		1		1	12	
10	Kempen, Diony	1	1	1	1	1		1		1	1																	1	1	1			1			12	
11	Latter, Greg	1								1	1													1		1		1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	13	
12	Maseko, Zola	1			1			1		1	1															1	1	1	1	1			1	1	1	13	
13	Matabane, Khalo		1	1				1	1	1														1		1		1	1		1	1	1	1	1	14	
14	Meeran, Jean			1			1																	1		1							1	1		6	
15	Mattera, Teddy	1		1	1	1	1	1																1	1	1	1	1		1	1		1	1		15	
16	Nathan, jeremy			1				1		1												1			1	1	1	1		1	1		1	1	1	13	
17	Otto-Sallies,	1	1	1			1	1		1	1													1		1								1	1	11	
18	Raleigh, Paul	1	1	1	1	1		1																1			1	1		1			1			11	
19	Roodt, Darrell	1		1	1					1	1													1		1	1	1	1	1			1	1	1	14	
20	Schuster, Leon	1		1					1	1														1		1					1		1		1	9	
21	Spring, Helena	1		1	1	1	1	1																1		1		1	1				1	1	1	13	
22	Ramadan	1		1	1			1		1	1																			1		1	1		1	10	
23	Thorpe, Robbie	1		1	1					1									1			1		1		1		1		1		1	1	1	1	14	
	SUM	20	6	20	12	7	5	14	2	17	8	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	0	1	5	0	15	4	15	9	16	8	12	7	4	20	10	18	**259**	11.136
	GROUP 2																																				
24	Hairdarian, Ryan														1					1		1	1													4	
25	Khumalo, Terence												1	1						1			1		1		1	1		1						8	
26	Mbalo, Eddie														1					1		1	1	1												5	
27	Silinda, Moses											1		1	1	1					1			1				1	1		1	1	1	1	1	13	
28	Nzimande, Julia						1					1	1	1	1	1						1		1			1	1	1	1				1	1	14	
	SUM						1	0	0	0	0	2	2	3	4	2	0	0	0	3	1	3	3	3	1	0	2	3	2	2	1	1	1	2	2	**44**	8.8

| | | |

APPENDIX H: EXAMPLE OF QUESTION SHEET WITH TICK BOXES

Interview Date_____

Name of Interviewee_____

Place of Interview_____

Questions:

X	Number	Question
	1.	When did you become involved in the SA film industry? Please provide a brief professional background. (Curious pictures)
	2.	What is the role of IPO in the SA film industry?
	3.	What is the inspiration behind your work?
	4.	What type of films have you made? Please provide some names (Heartlines)
	5.	How are your films generally funded?
	6.	What type of training do you provide? To whom?
	7.	Have you encountered the SABC's EVAM (Entertainment Value Assessment Matrix). What is your opinion of this initiative?
	8.	Have you heard of the NFVF/SABC Sediba course? - If so what is your opinion of this initiative
	9.	What do you think that the 3-Act film structure?
	10.	What are your views on international co-productions?
	11.	What do you think makes a film sell in South Africa?
	12.	How are your products distributed?
	13.	What do you think could be done to improve the local consumption of cinema in South Africa this?
	14.	Do you think that the dominance of Hollywood product on our screens has an impact on audience development?

	15.	How would you say South African national identity is represented cinema? Would you say that there are any trends?
	16.	Would you say that there is a skills shortage in SA film industry? If so which skills would you say are lacking?
	17.	General comments about the South African film industry?

APPENDIX I: CONSENT FORM

CONSENT FORM
Centre for Film and Media Studies
University of Cape Town, South Africa

Title of Research Project: The Mediation and Representation of National Identity in the Production of Post-apartheid, South African Cinema.

1. Names of Principle Researcher: Astrid Treffry-Goatley

2. Contact Details: (+27) 078 19 55 169 / astridtg@gmail.com

3. Nature of Research: Qualitative Interviews

4. Participant Information:

   What's involved: 30min - 60min interview on post-apartheid cinema
   Risks: There are no foreseeable risks
   Benefits: Contribution to academic knowledge and critical discourse on local films
   Costs*:* The interview should only cost the interviewee their time.
   Payment: There is no payment for the interview, since it is an academic exercise.

5. I agree to participate in this research project. I have read this consent form and the information it contains and have had the opportunity to ask questions about them.

6. I agree to the interview being recorded so that it can be transcribed at a later stage.

7. I agree to my response being used for education and research on the condition that my privacy is respected subject to the following: **(please tick appropriate box)**

   ☐ **I understand that my personal details may be included in academic writing about the research.** *(The term 'personal details' refers to full name and professional association).*

   ☐ **I would prefer to remain anonymous.** *(Please note that participant's professional association may still be referred to but their name will not be disclosed).*

8. I understand that I am under no obligation to take part in this project and that I have the right to withdraw from this project at any stage

Name of Participant …….
Signature of Participant: ……Date: ……..
Signature of Researcher: ……..Date: ……

APPENDIX J: INFORMATION DOCUMENT PROVIDED TO PARTICIPANTS

BACKGROUND INFORMATION ON RESEARCH PROJECT

Title of Project:
The Mediation and Representation of National Identity in the Production of Post-apartheid, South African Cinema

Researcher:
Astrid Treffry-Goatley is a PhD student at the *Centre for Film and Media Studies* at the *University of Cape Town.* Her academic supervisor is Associate Professor Martin Botha.

Brief Project Summary:
The objective of this project is to analyse a selection of feature films which have been made in the 'New South Africa'. The aim is to critically examine the ways in which such films represent the nation's post-apartheid identity. This research project will assess the impact of production processes (in particular funding policies) on the films selected. The project will be based in Cape Town, but research will take place throughout the country. Interviews will be conducted with key stakeholders of the industry including: directors, producers, funding agents, exhibitors and distributors. The aim is to incorporate their expertise into the academic analysis with the intention of gaining a better understanding of the contemporary South African feature film industry.

Introduction:
Since South Africa became a democracy in 1994, the country has been involved in a process of national reinvention. Cultural expressions, including cinema, have played a major role in the recreation and re-presentation of the country. The objective of this project is to critically examine the representation of national identity in post-apartheid cinema. The proposed research is groundbreaking since very few studies have been conducted on this subject and even fewer have been directly concerned with the post-apartheid *feature* film industry. The recent nature of the subject material concerned and the emphasis on production processes in the analysis further distinguishes this work from previous studies on South African film.

In recent years, South African cinema has received unprecedented recognition on the international stage. This international exposure has encouraged the government and foreign film companies to show a growing interest in the national industry. As a result, a number of co-treaties have been signed between South Africa and various foreign countries. It is primarily through these co-productions that South African feature films are currently funded. Using a limited number of representative case studies, this project aims to document some of the funding policies and production processes which characterise post-apartheid feature films. This data will be used to analyse the impact of such processes on the representation of national identity in post-apartheid cinema.

Case Studies:
Since the project concerns post-apartheid national culture, films will be chosen from 2004 onwards, which allows South Africa's new democratic society ten years to develop. The commercial success of each film will be considered since the aim is to use films which have had a far-reaching, national impact. Therefore, quantitative data will be obtained from relevant national surveys and box office returns. Once this data has been collected and analysed, a list of the most popular post-2004 films will be drawn up. Films which are seen to be the most significant representations of our democratic society will be chosen form this list. Each choice of case study will be clearly substantiated.

Research Methods:
This study will comprise of theoretical and empirical research. The empirical research will be qualitative in nature. Interviews will be conducted with film experts including: film directors, academics, and representatives from relevant companies and organisations. A semi-structured qualitative model will be used as a guide for the research interviews. Each interview will revolve around a set of 'main' questions, which will be prepared in advance under the guidance of Assoc. Prof. Martin Botha. Interviews will be conducted in private, in a place and time, which suits the interviewee. Provided that the interviewee it comfortable with the technology, interviews will be recorded to avoid the distraction of the researcher taking notes.

Analysis:
A variety of methodologies and paradigms will be applied to the critical analysis of the data gathered. The aim is to provide an account, which is as balanced and objective as possible.
Production processes and finished cinematic products will be critically examined in relation to data gathered through quantitative and qualitative research methods.

Conclusion:
The purpose behind this document is to provide research participants with a clear understanding of the research process and the intended research outcome. The research results will not be used for any other purpose than what was originally agreed by participants without obtaining their prior consent.

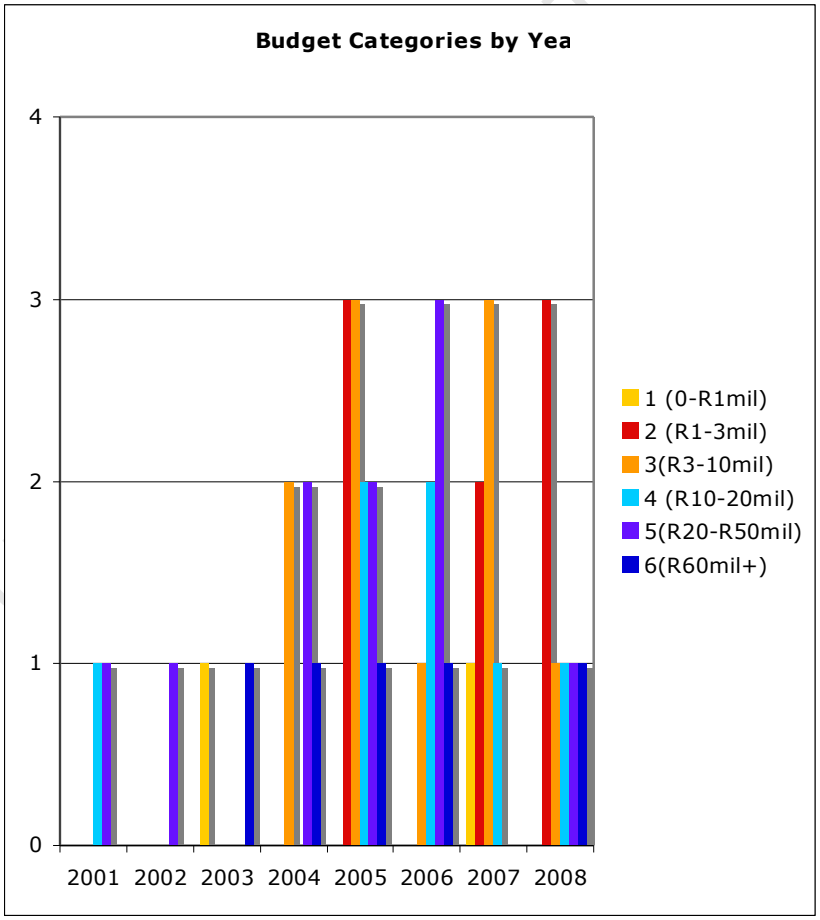
Please do not hesitate to contact me if you have any further questions

Astrid Treffry-Goatley

PhD Candidate
Centre for Film and Media Studies
University of Cape Town
Tel: 021 4197696
Email: astridtg@gmail.com

APPENDIX K: BUDGET CATEGORIES BY YEAR

	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	Total
1 (0-R1mil)	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	2
2 (R1-3mil)	0	0	0	0	3	0	2	3	8
3(R3-10mil)	0	0	0	2	3	1	3	1	10
4 (R10-20mil)	1	0	0	0	2	2	1	1	7
5(R20-R50mil)	1	1	0	2	2	3	0	1	10
6(R60mil+)	0	0	1	1	1	1	0	1	5
	2	1	2	5	11	7	7	7	42



APPENDIX L: INTERVIEW TRANSCRIPT (3)

Interviewees: Eddie Mbalo and Ryan Haidarian
Location: NFVF Offices, Johannesburg
Date: 09.10.07

Astrid: What role does the NFVF play in the South African film industry? (Question 21)

Eddie: Our starting point is around skills development so that we have a pool of filmmakers that are properly trained. We have not been prescriptive in any way. In fact, what you will find in all that we have done since 2001, which is when we started operating, is that we have tried not to be prescriptive in anything. You will see that the films that have been made in the last three to four years are all different. They are really not focused in any one direction because what we are really interested in is to have South African filmmakers express themselves and to tell the stories from their own perspective. And therefore you find that not one film is made because we wanted it that way or because we wanted that film. The fact that a number of films started dealing with issues of reconciliation is because filmmakers themselves saw a need and opportunity to tell those stories. And also that is what happens in environments where something has happened. The TRC was a miracle for everyone and the world now looks at SA as being able to go through this process. The TRC is an example of what can be achieved and how peace can be achieved. As for *Zulu Love Letter*, *Forgiveness* and many documentaries, they are made because people felt that there were stories to be told around that subject. Then you look at *Max and Mona* and you get *UCarmen Ekhayalitsha* … they are all diverse. You cannot say this is because of what we wanted. We believe that SA film should happen organically from within the industry itself.

A: So does the NFVF criteria speak about what type of stories should be told? (Based on Question 13)

Eddie: Well, it does say that films should promote diversity, reconciliation but it does not necessarily say what films should be made. The truth is that once we have the criteria, our office is really to ensure that people follow the criteria from the beginning. We have established panels made up of peers and those are the people that play the most critical role in deciding and advising us which films should be funded. So it is a combination of people who advise us and we also look at it from our side. And what we are really looking for is whether there is a story to be told. You have to make a decision. When I go to my panel we have to decide which films we will fund and it is a difficult choice!

Ryan: We're not like a studio. The way that a studio model works is that they do research and they say 'Oh, teen horrors are doing really well!' Or '*Volcano* did really well let's do another volcano movie.' They are making their choice as to what to put their investments in. At the NFVF we don't have that opportunity. We don't function so that we can drive that creative process. So we respond to whatever people send in. It is the filming community out there that decides: 'I am interested in making a Volcano movie or a TRC movie or a comedy'. And so what's been a really fundamental starting point for our panelists is to look at our story and judge it on … structurally does it work? Am I entertained when I read the script? Now this is where an academic will have a bit more of a conflict with someone coming from my perspective about what makes something work. Why do audiences respond? And what we try and do is to make sure that the panels that we pick have a very strong understanding of what a story is. So it is like saying that these people have read almost every screen-writing book out there. Recently, in a new staff member interview, I asked how many films he watches a week. I mean, imagine someone who wants to work here or wants to be a panelist but does not watch any films. The next question is how informed are you about what makes a film work? What screen writing books have you read? What research have you done about how you can give feedback to someone about whether or not a story element works? We were giving a talk to a group of high school kids this morning. They were doing their first films, and it is things like: the easiest way to make sure that a story will work is to make sure that you have a beginning middle and an end. Make sure that there is some strong conflict and tension. And what's fantastic is there is a trend moving towards Joseph Campbell, who was a kind of anthropologist who looked at myth all around the world. The book that was kind of quintessential was called *The Hero of a*

Thousand Faces. He went to every culture that he could get his hands on to understand what their myths are, what are the stories which are being handed down? And this is now becoming the fundamental building blocks of what the 3-act structure and the hero's journey actually are. It is based on all this guy's research. Everything from *Matrix* to *Rocky* is based on this guy's work. Well, Joseph Campbell is very academic so there have been many Hollywood type gurus who have tapped into what's he saying and have made it into a much more 'layman' speak. What you come out with is an understanding that a story is a story, is a story. It does not matter if you are Chinese or if you are African, Native American, Mexican or where you are from. That hero's story - we all were told that same story about the reluctant hero who comes to a guarded threshold they won't let him pass beyond … you know, who has to save his people? Who has to have faith? I mean all those elements they constantly reappear.

Eddie: I have to say, you know we've had lots of fights with our panelists because half the time the comments we get is: 'I don't like this. I don't like that'. But it is not about personal choice. It is about whether it is a story - Can it work? What building blocks can be put in place? Our job is here is to help people. What I am trying to say is sometimes panelists and others like to put themselves in a position of power. Many years ago, before Ryan came, we didn't really have the capacity to evaluate the scripts to the extent that we could add value to it. That's why first and foremost we brought in the panelists. But when Ryan came in we changed our tune and said; 'the idea is not to reject any project. The idea is to look at the project and say how can we help these people to get their project to a point where it can be funded by us, and more importantly, by outside people.'

Astrid: How do you do that? (follow on question)

Eddie: What Ryan has been doing is to give people notes and to raise all the issues that might not make the story work.

Ryan: We used to say 'yes' or 'no'

Eddie: You used to get a letter that says: 'We regret to inform you that…'

Ryan: Now you get a letter that says: 'Here is the ten pages of notes that we have gathered from all of our panelists that have informed our decision that says whether or not your project at this stage is ready to receive funding or not. Here's the notes if you should begin the process to reapply.

Eddie: To be honest with you, people fall by the way side because they were never made for it. We have had to make decisions. We have even asked filmmakers to come and do the training for us.

Ryan: And we also make interventions. One of the things that we started doing a year and a half ago is that we have a lot of people that come to us and we give them the notes. In fact, we don't just give them notes, we have a very detailed engagement process. In fact, if you were to apply to us, I would read the script before I even sent it to the panel. And I'd say: 'I am worried about this or that', before, so that you have the best chance before I send it to the panel. So I have a stack called 'Waiting for further information.' And people will go back and work on it. It is very time-consuming but we do it because one of the problems when I came was that you have this bunch of people who are so excited about film, it is their passion, but they might not have had the fundamental building blocks. It's like: 'I want to design a house but I have never taken an architectural course or an engineering course. I don't understand the fundamentals of structure, where the walls have to be, where one can put windows'. So we have taken those people whom we are engaging and if after three or four times they still are not getting it, we still send it through to the panelists. We take every note that is made and we put it in a package and send it off to the council because we don't actually make the decision. The council makes the final decision.

Eddie: But we guide council. We guide council by giving them all the information because they don't have the time to read everything. So we do all the work and when we go to them we say: 'Ok, this is our evaluation. These are the panelist's comments. These are our comments and this is how we think that this project should move forward.'

Ryan: And many times, what I thought personally, completely changes after hearing the feedback from the council. And so the recommendation we make is always collaborative.

Eddie: Even myself, to be honest with you, I am the last person who sees the projects because they go to council first. In the past, the council would spend more time on the rejected ones then those that were approved. Some people send the projects directly to me, but you need to go through the proper application process. We will not waste time on scripts that are not properly applied for.

Ryan: So there were all these passionate people who wanted to apply. But if we're going to give you 100-200 grand to write a screenplay in four to six months a year, we have to be sure that when we give you notes that you can actually take it to the next level. If your passion is greater than your skill, we set aside the money. And the council approved this about a year and a half ago that we send this person on training to Sediba. So we do that. Instead of investing in the project, we make an investment in the individual. What happens is that every six months we have a crop that goes into a screen-writing course. About 30-40 people will go through that process cherry picked from our applications - people who show enough willingness to do the work. People were complaining to us at first: 'I know everything. Why have you put me in this thing?'

Eddie: No one thinks that they need to go on a SEDIBA 'Spark' programme .

Ryan: But then you should see the letters afterwards. The same people who were kicking and screaming say 'Thank you it's the best thing I ever done'. So we only let six to ten go through to the next level, which we are going to start in the next month or two. It's the intermediate level. So we further invest in those six to ten who we believe have gotten it. The others are almost a bit of a write-off.

Eddie: What we are doing in this process is that we are taking individuals, and we are developing the project that they submitted. But the person is also being developed, the skills of that person, because, ultimately what we want is for the individuals who have gone through the Master's programme to become script editors. That is another area that is

lacking because everyone is writing but there is no one there to advise and evaluate the projects. So ultimately, we want all of our training to be outcomes-based and we want to see a product. Because we want to see a project and say this project came to us at this level, but it has been realised now on the screen.

A: Who writes the course? (Based on Question 19)

Ryan: Sediba has been running for a while. Alby James, a Professor out of Leeds University been running it for about four years.

Eddie: It started for AVEA (Audio Visual Entrepreneurs of Africa) but when AVEA folded, we maintained the Sediba programme.

Ryan: And the focus was to take projects that were already well developed and develop them further. So it was kind of a Master's level type programme. So people would submit their scripts and you were selecting the six to ten best screenwriters. What we saw was a huge lack at the bottom. And so we said to the Sediba project leader Clarence Hamilton – who is now at the NFVF as a production executive and now runs the Spark workshop. He is the overseer and we brought the script editors to work under him to run the day-to-day workshops. Now, albeit we said to them we think the interventions we need to make - because what we do is we look, we see there is a gap, and we try to fill that gap – so we said we need an intro class. We need to teach them how to learn screen-writing, so you don't come out of it as an amazing screenwriter. You learn: 'Gosh, my knowledge, is quite little and I will never know everything'. We try to make them feel like pretty much every successful screenwriter, I mean the guys who sell the million dollar scripts. I don't mean the guys writing for 30 000. Those guys that have three shelves in their office: one shelf has pretty much every screen-writing book ever written. Every time a new one comes out, that guy, even though he has sold about 5 million dollars worth of script, he is reading every screen-writing book that comes out and he's studying it. It's a Bible to him. There is one next to his bed, there's a copy in the living room, there's a copy in the bathroom. That's one thing you have to learn – I can't stop learning. The second shelf, every great screen play that you respect, there's an actual copy of the screenplay because you are reading it. Every time

a film wins a festival, or wins an Oscar nomination, you are reading that script because that is the best way you learn. And finally there is the third shelf, which is the twenty scripts that you have written that you will never show anyone. And the biggest thing a screenwriter needs to learn is that you don't nail it on the first one. You nail it after 15-20 scripts and that's what we are trying to impart here when you are coming out of the course. So the course is like tons of reading of books, and we are actually subsidizing the books, tons of screenplay reading. There is a lot of homework. There's a lot of breaking down of movies and there's working on your own project.

A: And is it related to South Africa? Is it based on our own cultural heritage or is it from England? (Based on Question 19)

Ryan: What, the story telling?

A: Yes

Ryan: But, I gave you that whole speech at the beginning, about what the fundamentals of story are...

A: Yes, but do you include African orality, or alternative narrative structures? Do you accept all those different types of narratives in the course?

Ryan: Of course – There is diversity. They are reading *Tsotsi*. They are reading…

Eddie: Because at the end of the day people are influenced by their own surroundings. As Ryan was saying, there *is* a universal way of telling stories and there is a beginning, middle and the end. Then because I might be as Africanist – as South African as possible – what I don't have is the skill to express that. So…

Ryan: We're saying 'learn the rules'. Now, the thing is that when you read any screenwriting book worth it's salt, it's not looking at niche films that nobody gets a chance to see. So it might be a Norwegian script editor, or a guy from eastern Germany, but the

films that he is breaking down are the films that the majority of people have seen. Primarily because, you want to break down a film that an audience has responded to.

Astrid: Hollywood 'big name' films?

Ryan: I would not say only Hollywood. What is Hollywood? *City of God*, now would that be considered a Hollywood title because it got global distribution? It got Oscar nominations. It was a big film. One of the exercises we were doing here, what we did for about a year, was to bring films from tiny markets from around the world that have broken out and we studied those films and we screened them downstairs in our screening room and people watch them and ask: 'Why did *Maria Full of Grace* work? Why did this little Columbian film get so much international attention and make so much money?' One of our problems is that a lot of people feel that they have stories, which they want to tell. People want to come in and tell me a story. They are dying to get this story out. They don't understand structurally how to piece that story together. And so their burning desire to tell this story is nowhere near adequate to have the skill to tell the story. How do you move an audience? How do you get an audience to sit on the edge of their seats at that moment in the film? Even for our staff here we started doing monthly screenings for breaking it down so that we can all kind of have the same language. 'Why did we all scream at that moment? Why did we you know get so excited?'

Eddie: The other important question, which relates to the point that you are making is: What informs us? Where you are trained. From what perspective? But also looking at SA post 1994, the majority of the people who were making films actually come from outside, either because they were in exile and therefore they were trained in Cuba, or they were trained in UK, they were trained in America. And the challenge is: 'How do you fuse all of this together? Who teaches today? What informs those people? Usually UCLA and so forth… and do they bring in those influences?' And in my perspective, what they will teach from their perspectives are these general rules because even the so-called West African cinema is so much influenced by France. So I think that for us … and that is why young people like Dumisane [Phakathi], young people who define SA films – I have looked at Dumisane's films, and I have tears in my eyes and that boy will define what is going to become SA films

because his films are informed a lot by his own environment. You see in a lot of Dumisane's films, his background, where he comes from, who he is as a person. But we need to be taught, basic skills. They need to have basic skills and those can come from anywhere.

Ryan: There is a film that we are financing now by Khalo Matabane. All his work is highly experimental. Your professor would probably rant and rave about how amazing it is: 'It is the new voice of South Africa'. That is what all the film festivals are saying. But his previous work is so unstructured that it makes it very hard for this film to find broad audiences. Take *Conversations on a Sunday Afternoon*, do you know how much money that film made in SA? R70 000. So nobody wants to see that movie but it's great art. And, one of the things about the NFVF, at least from what I gathered from government, is the reason why they are putting this money aside isn't so that you can develop culture like the French system. It has to be a contributor to gross domestic product. It has to grow the gross domestic product. They are investing in this sector of the economy because they think that this could be a real driver of the economy.

Astrid: So it is not only about culture … (follow up question)

Eddie: Well, it's about national imperatives, and one of the key areas is job creation. It's about creating wealth. South Africa is generally a poor country that has to use every sector of its economy to create jobs and so forth. So whilst there is a strong move which is more political i.e. creating opportunities, redress the imbalances … imagine if we were to just focus on those. What it means is that we would have all these people who have all the opportunities but could not make films. What it does in the management of the whole process is to ensure that people are able to reflect themselves and are able to tell their own stories, but in a manner that we are able to ensure that they are making another film. Because otherwise you have a revolving door. People making a movie and then they are coming back for funding. Which is a problem in SA, with our subsistence filmmaking. You make a movie and you want to finish it as quickly as possible so that you can come back and join the queue. And that's what happens. That is money down the drain because of the kinds of movies that are made. Movies that no one wants to see.

Astrid: How do you think that South African audiences respond to local films? (Based on Question 32)

Ryan: Lets make an example of Khalo [Matabane]. We said to this guy, if we are going to pick him and take him to the next level, not only at film festivals but also hopefully with audiences, we have to put some money into him developing an actual screenplay. He can't go experimental. He really wants to write about violence in South Africa so he pitches this idea which is about violence: *Violence* that was the title. And then he makes all these statements and it was a bunch of people talking about violence. It was the kind of thing that academics would eat up because it is all this talking, but audiences would fall asleep. So we said what is going to make this film work is a strong plot, a strong structure. So take a Clint Eastwood type plot and put on what you want to say. I don't know if you've seen the *Brave One*? We showed this to Khalo and said that his will be like that but the difference will be on what it says about violence in SA. It needs a clean spine. You can pepper the film with meaning. What is going to make the film really become a classic is when people can talk about it and watch it 10 times over. That is what made *Matrix* actually work - it is when people can talk about and try to understand what happened.

Eddie: It is very difficult to measure audience response to SA cinema because there is difficulty getting films on screen. And up to this point, SA films have been put on niche 'Cinema Nouveau' theatres. Who goes there? Academics. People who like art films. So it is not the driver and that is why you have that kind of niche. There is an issue of access. So if you are going to evaluate and review SA response, you have to first deal with these other elements. And say you put *Max and Mona* on, of course people will not want to watch that kind of film on an art circuit, because usually they expect to see academic films - French sub-titled. So the issue of access is a serious one because the fact is that the majority of the people are in the rural areas and in the townships and there are four million people in Soweto. Although there is Southgate, there are transport problems: no taxies after 7. The fact is that people are expected to drive. One thing is to go to Sandton City at the end of the day to go to movies. It is difficult at the moment to say why people don't go to cinema, because the people that you would expect to go and watch those movies actually do not have access.

Another issue is that we cannot deliver a movie every six months and expect people to buy into it. People want frequency. People want us to deliver films every week, every month. We need to build a cinema going culture. For me, the frequency of the releasing of our movies has a lot to do with the response of our audiences

Ryan: To add to it is the belief that not enough time in the past has been spent on the development of the material. We, in the last 3 years, have spent a tremendous amount of our energy and our money in actually putting money into developing our material. That's a long investment. Sometimes it takes a year or even two years to get a project to shoot. *Violence* has been a year and a half in development. When you look at Hollywood, a film that does really well, the amount of time and money that was spent before they even got it to go into production is astronomical in comparison to what we spend to make an actual movie. You'd pay a guy $500 000 to 1 million dollars to do a two-week re-write on a project and there are 10 writers who have done that already on the same project. That is what we are trying to put more and more energy into. If we polish up this thing enough we are going to find that diamond that is in there. And then when we put our money into shooting it, it doesn't matter if we don't spend 100 million dollars making this movie. You can shoot it with a Fisher Price camera because the story works and it was well thought through and the arcs are working. People will buy it. *Blair Witch Project* taught that to everybody. If the story is good and it moves you, people will go out to see it in droves.

A: Which film is an example of something you have developed in this way? (Spontaneous question)

Ryan: Have developed strongly? Nothing has come out as yet. But, what we are seeing, which is really exciting for us, is that the projects that have just come out of development in the last year, the attention that those scripts are getting on the international co-production market is making our head 'This big'. We feel so excited. People are going: 'This is one of the best scripts we have ever read.' … *Cuts off carries on the next disk*

Astrid: How would you say that South African's are represented on film? (Question 23)

Ryan: The only time I think that we intervene is when we think that it is a negative portrayal…There was an example when there was a good script but it made one think that one's gardener is a crazy killer ...It would make people as a afraid of their gardners as the jaws made them of sharks.

Eddie: We explained that were not playing censors. This film would be offensive to certain parts of the population and we couldn't use government funds to support films with prejudice. It is not banned. You can still make your film but not with our funding.

APPENDIX M: ANALYSIS OF CO-PRODUCTIONS

Title	Language	Genre	official /unoffical	Budget Category	no.
Friends	ENG	Drama	unoffical	N/A	1
Cry the Beloved Country	ENG	Drama	unoffical	N/A	1
Ghandi-The Making of the	ENG	Drama	unoffical	N/A	1
Jump the Gun	ENG	Comed	unoffical	N/A	1
Fools	ENG	Drama	unoffical	N/A	1
Reasonable Man	ENG	Crime	unoffical	N/A	1
Lumumba	ENG	Drama	unoffical	5	1
Hijack Stories	ENG	Crime	unoffical	N/A	1
Wooden Camera	ENG	ADVE	unoffical	N/A	1
Drum	ENG	Thriller	unoffical	5	1
Red Dust	ENG	Drama	unoffical	5	1
Catch A Fire	ENG	Drama	unoffical	6	1
Wah-Wah	ENG	Drama	unoffical	5	1
Hansie	ENG	Drama/	unoffical	6	1
District 9	ENG	Sci-Fi	unoffical	6	1
Finding Lenny	ENG	Com	unoffical	N/A	1
Boesman And Lena	ENG/AFR	Drama	unoffical	4	1
In My Country	ENG/AFR	Drama	unoffical	6	1
Triomf	ENG/AFR	Drama	unoffical	3	1
Disgrace	ENG/XHO/	Drama	unoffical	6	1
Zulu Love Letter	ENG/ZUL	Drama	unoffical	4	1
Beat The Drum	ENG/ZUL	Drama	unoffical	4	1
White Wedding	ENG/ZUL	Comed	unoffical	3	1
Jerusalema	ENG/ZUL/T	Crime	unoffical	4	1
Tsotsi	ZUL/	Crime	unoffical	5	1
Malunde	ENG	Drama	official	N/A	1
Hotel Rwanda	ENG	Drama	official	6	1
Stander	ENG/AFR	Drama	official	6	1

Unoffical Co-productions		
	N	%
English	16	64
Englush and Afrikaans	3	12
English and Indigenous	5	20
Indigenous language	1	4
	25	

TABLE TWO:			
Co-productions Budget			
Category:	N	Total in	% of Total
1	0	2	0
2	0	8	0
3	2	10	20
4	4	7	57.14285714
5	5	10	50
6	7	5	100

TABLE THREE:		
Co-production Genre	*N*	**%**
Genre		
comedy	3	10.714
crime	4	14.286
drama	18	64.286
other	3	10.714
Total	**28**	

APPENDIX N: SACOMM RESPONSE TO STATE FILM SCHOOL

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23 October 2009

Honourable Minister Xingwana

RE: NATIONAL FILM SCHOOL and CONSULTATION WITH EDUCATION SECTOR

This letter is in response to the Film Industry meeting you held on 12 October 2009 at Atlas Studios, Johannesburg, in which you mentioned plans for a state film school and invited submissions by Friday 23 October 2009.
In order to respect that deadline, here is an initial communication facilitated by SACOMM (the South African Communication Association) in correspondence with six accredited providers of degree and diploma courses in film and television production. We have also gleaned input from international film schools, respected members of CILECT, the international body of accredited film schools.

SACOMM is an academic association to promote education and research in the broad communication disciplines. We have been asked and agreed to facilitate a forum for educational stakeholders to discuss the matter and provide the response for which you have asked.
SACOMM is in communication with its members but also with non-members, consisting of higher education institutions, diploma; graduate and postgraduate providers of skilled culture workers in the South African media industries.
As the state film school initiative will have impacts on the discipline and every South African higher education institute offering film, video, and multimedia, SACOMM is helping to facilitate dialogue on the matter.

Our main point of response to your office today is to ask for the opportunity to broaden the dialogue on the matter and allow SACOMM to present you with more input from stakeholders at a more feasible deadline, given that the deadline of today has not been communicated to all stakeholders.
Further recommendations are listed at the conclusion of this letter.

Initial points we have already succeeded in collecting and collating for your consideration on the matter of a national film school include the following:

- **The NFVF and your ministry have visited overseas film schools on a fact-finding mission to prepare for a state film school. However, they did not visit local ones, the very schools that can advise and are stakeholders.**

- Improved communication is requested between your department and higher education institutions that provide accredited training in film and television scarce skills. The NFVF Act states "in conjunction with the Departments of Trade and Industry and of Education, investigate the viability of establishing a national film school." To investigate the viability of a state film school would also require broad consultation with all stakeholders in the country as well as internationally for benchmarking. It would appear that most universities and film schools have not been part of this consultation process. Thus the consultation is sadly not yet broad.

- Several film schools and universities also found that it is important to bring to the attention of the Minister that there is no cohesive platform for research into the industry capacities and skills, and thus into the need for national investment into a film school. Film offices and commissions unfortunately do not integrate their efforts to understand the skills shortage in the industry. And the NFVF's recent HRSC study on the size of the industry similarly did not collaborate broadly. The MAPPP SETA study only refers to the Workplace Skills Plan, which might suffer from a lack of data as its main sources of information on film and TV skills are those companies big enough to pay skills levies, like SABC and M-Net. This leaves out the majority of the labour force -- freelancers and SMMEs. **A research body for skills should be a joint effort between bodies like NFVF and MAPPP SETA, and industry and training institutions. Accurate and complete data is necessary for the national film school research project. The pockets of information existing in the various governmental bodies should be integrated into a cohesive basis for a strategy for education and training in the industry.**

- It is not clear to most universities and film schools why the NFVF has exclusive preferential relationships with two institutions only. The question arose: By what mechanism were these institutions privileged? If similar strategic partnerships with the NFVF could be developed with other universities and film schools, broad consultation would flourish and skills would grow. Each university and training institution has its strengths and emphases, each of which could be further empowered in transparent tactical relationships with NFVF.

- Some respondents (notably with local and international experience in film schools) question the likelihood that your department can or should allocate the huge cost for resources required to establish and run a film school, in the context of the South African economy and spending priorities.

These are the most recent matters, but the debate started in the nineties:

The Film White Paper (1996) proposed the establishment of a national film school, but its writers also reported important arguments after holding consultative reference group meetings. These arguments included the following points:

- Globally, the idea of national film schools have passed their sell-by date (technologically, ideologically, and in terms of development strategies).

- The cost of establishing and maintaining such a school will be equivalent to the cost of a small university. At the same time university funding is being slashed nationally.

- Many universities and private film schools already offer top class film, television and multimedia courses across a range of disciplines including media, music, drama, journalism, fine arts, electronic engineering, computer and software programming. Film and media courses (both production and theory) are even offered in literature, anthropology, sociology and classics departments, not to mention many others.

- Universities; private film schools and NGO training facilities for film already offer well-developed infrastructures, globally competitive courses and internationally renowned graduates. Perhaps this infrastructure could be strengthened rather than stretched?

- The existing film and television training institutions - both public and private -- have built the education basis for the industry. They have made their marks both nationally and internationally: winning the top international awards for student productions; and stimulating the production of commercially successful and culturally relevant feature films and television content. Internships; mentorships; master classes and high employment rates of alumni attest to the symbiotic relationship between these institutions and industry.

- The private and SETA-driven training operations and NGOs often serve the non-university sector. These are the institutions which should be supported within a cohesive strategy by government to build from their already strong base, rather than setting up a new operation which is unlikely to deliver the broad resources already provided by the current tertiary sector (i.e. a range of disciplines, research ethos, infrastructure and administrative support).

Our recommendations are that:

1. Your department facilitates the establishment of an audit committee to be drawn from academia, industry and state, to assess the current educational terrain in film and television. This would allow your department access to the strengths of local educators to see what the South African industry needs, what training is at our disposal here in South Africa; and how your department can support and develop what we already have -- a diverse range of educational opportunities that cater for a wide range of needs.

2. A business committee be established from industry and academia to investigate international best practice.

3. Consultants be drawn from CILECT, the International Association of accredited Film and TV Schools.

4. A longer-term and more integrated view of the research process, the drawing up of plans, options, and scenarios be considered and implemented.

5. A cost-benefit analysis be conducted. The need for the creation of a national film school must be demonstrated in concrete terms. What will this proposed school deliver that is not already being offered by the existing tertiary education infrastructure? What will the impact on this existing infrastructure be? What are the alternatives? An example of alternatives often mentioned by our respondents is that your department could offer (more) bursaries to film and television students at existing institutions.

6. A feasible deadline for broad response from stakeholders is agreed on, as indicated above.

Our respondents are all enthusiastically agreed that education is a vital link in the chain of developing and growing a vibrant film and television industry in South Africa. Most of our respondents don't feel threatened by the possibility of a state film school, but would like to participate in the consultation process.

We trust that the discourse has only just begun and look forward to your further communication.

Respectfully,

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